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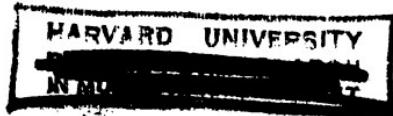
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A COMMUNITY RECREATION PROGRAM

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CLEVELAND RECREATION SURVEY

A COMMUNITY
RECREATION PROGRAM



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FOREWORD

This report on *A Community Recreation Program* is one of the seven sections of the report of the Recreation Survey of Cleveland conducted under the auspices of The Cleveland Foundation. Copies of all these publications may be obtained from the Cleveland Foundation. A complete list, together with prices, will be found in the back of this volume.

EXPLANATORY NOTE

The introduction to this summary volume was written by Mr. Raymond Moley. The six chapters summarizing the different volumes and the final chapter, giving a community program of recreation for Cleveland, were written by Mr. Rowland Haynes. The six chapters, giving interpretations of the different volumes, namely, Chapters VII to XII inclusive, were written by Mr. Carlton K. Matson.

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A COMMUNITY RECREATION PROGRAM

INTRODUCTION

ORIGIN AND SCOPE OF THE RECREATION SURVEY

This recreation survey grew out of the Cleveland Foundation's School Survey. It found its origin in an appreciation, which grew out of that survey, that a very large amount of vital education is carried on outside the class room. The average child spends a little less than 1,000 hours per year in school. He spends from 1,500 to 1,800 hours per year in the education of play outside of school.

Nor are the out-of-school hours less important in the lessons learned and the habits formed. It is sometimes said that a youngster's real teachers are his playmates. Certain it is that the fibre of character and personality grow largely during play hours. Hence the Foundation Committee became convinced that in addressing themselves to the educational problem in Cleveland they could not get a complete knowledge of the city's educational resources, methods and needs without a knowledge of play and recreation conditions in the city.

This feeling was the real origin of the survey. It was supplemented by an appreciation that beyond school years spare time provides the largest unused time asset in the city's life. Industry and commerce occupy working hours, the schools occupy the study periods, but what occupies the spare time? Just as the west was for long the great treasury of resources for the country, so spare time is the great treasury of unused or partly used resources of modern life. It is the "Great West" of modern life. What resources does this great prairie of Cleveland's life contain and how are they being used? The desire to answer this question was an added impulse to the survey.

In planning the work, the problem was divided into two parts, first, certain fundamental questions which have to do with recreation anywhere, although studied here in Cleveland, second, questions which have to do with the different types of recreation agencies in Cleveland and the specific task for each type of agency. In the first part the three fundamental questions studied were—

1. What has spare time to do with delinquency?
 2. What has spare time to do with developing wholesome citizens?
 3. What has spare time to do with school progress?
- In the second part three types of agencies were studied, commercial agencies, private agencies, both philanthropic and cooperative, and public or tax-supported agencies.

This summary volume is divided into three parts. First, there is a series of summaries of the six vol-

umes. The purpose of these summaries is to tell briefly what each volume says. Next, there is a series of brief interpretations of each of the six volumes. The purpose of these interpretations is to point out the significance of the findings of each volume. The final chapter outlines a community recreation program for Cleveland based on the facts revealed by the survey.

RAYMOND MOLEY,
Director of the Cleveland Foundation.

PART I
SUMMARY OF THE SURVEY REPORTS
CHAPTER I
DELINQUENCY AND SPARE TIME *

This volume is based on a careful, intensive study of 144 cases, i. e. 124 juvenile and 20 adult delinquents. The juvenile delinquents were selected, 95 from the juvenile courts and 29 from intimate, long acquaintance of library workers. The 20 adults were selected, 12 from dance hall acquaintance and 8 from municipal court records.

Great care was employed to make the selection typical of the groups they represented. The juvenile court cases were taken as random samplings from the grist at court in four different seasons of the year. These cases were checked up as to their typical character by comparison with all cases coming before the juvenile court, during the year 1916, and were found to be representative of this larger group in the matter of age, sex, kind of offense, nationality and religious affiliation. The judge and chief probation officer agreed that the cases selected for careful study correctly represented the entire group of delinquents.

* This chapter is a summary of the volume of the survey entitled "Delinquency and Spare Time" by Henry W. Thurston.

The selection was also checked over with the delinquency distribution map with the result that the selected group was found to represent accurately the different delinquency centers of Cleveland.

This, then, is a study of 124 juvenile delinquents, but of 124 cases shown to be correctly representative of 2,587 court cases in 1916, of 2,603 cases brought unofficially to the attention of the court in that year, of the unapprehended companions of the delinquents, who did not come directly to the attention of the court, and of the unnumbered fraternity of delinquents whom the police never saw. In other words, this is a study of a fair sampling of at least 20,000 delinquents in Cleveland.

The study shows that there is no factor always present in delinquency cases, but that there is a connection between delinquency and the habitual uses of spare time in three out of every four cases. Delinquency was found of all ages, of both sexes, of all nationalities, in broken and unbroken homes, among poor children and well-to-do children, among Catholics, Protestants, Jews and those of no religion, among children in congested centers and in good residence districts; but with all types of delinquencies there is a connection with spare time activities in 75 per cent of the cases.

In the matter of play and recreation the juvenile delinquents were found to fall into five classes:

1. Those who cannot see the hair line between what is unlawful and the very similar practices which are permitted.

2. Those whose loafing suggests delinquency to fill their empty time.
3. Those who want to get money for recreation.
4. Those who are ambitious to qualify for a gang.
5. Those who hunger for relief from monotony and overwork.

Comparing the average delinquent with the average youngster who became a "wholesome citizen" in later life (see Volume III of this survey), it was found that for the delinquent, over fifty per cent of the spare time is taken by desultory, unguided pursuits, while for the future "wholesome citizens," only seven-tenths of one per cent of their spare time was taken by such pursuits.

Mr. Thurston's volume further analyzes the different types of juvenile delinquents so as to point out the remedy required by each type. These remedies are as follows:

1. The closing of the railroad tracks as habitual playgrounds of hundreds of children.
2. The making of the lake front and gullies clean and accessible with provision for active play and the separation of the children from tramps frequenting these places.
3. The assembling and keeping up-to-date of a continuous inventory of the kind and adequacy of spare time opportunities, public, philanthropic or cooperative, in different parts of the city so that workers with juvenile delinquents may have clear and ready information as to the tools of prevention they have to work with.

4. The extension of agencies developing moral character and vocational efficiency.
5. The specialization in personal play leadership of near-delinquents by individuals and organizations which can be adapted to this work.
6. The acquirement of a reasonable spare time for certain overworked children.

As a sampling of possible delinquents in the age beyond the juvenile period, the investigators made casual acquaintance with over 250 girls at dance halls, on the streets, in cafes, at movies and similar resorts. These acquaintanceships were in certain cases supplemented by a personal call from a woman worker. They reiterated the results of the study of juveniles, namely that a normal hunger for fun, when coupled with empty spare time, offers continual opportunity and temptation to delinquency. The remedy suggested is an experiment in furnishing adequate places, other than dance halls and the streets, where young women may meet young men under wholesome conditions.

As an indication of more advanced stages of delinquency, cases were taken from the municipal court representing six of the most common offenses,—assault, gambling, embezzlement, intoxication, immorality and stealing. These cases told the same story but merely in later chapters. They show—

1. That among adults, as well as children, there are special temptations to delinquency in spare time that is merely empty and without opportunities or guidance in recreation.

2. That an adequate recreation program must include not merely playgrounds for children but athletic fields and indoor recreation centers for young men and women and older adults.

Not wayward but wayless are most of these delinquents, whether juvenile, adolescent or adult. They need careful individual leadership, as well as space and facilities for normal recreation.

CHAPTER II

SCHOOL WORK AND SPARE TIME*

This study is based on 500,000 facts collected from 15,000 Cleveland school children. The children were in all grades above the fourth, including the high schools. They were distributed by districts so as to represent the entire school population of the city and were found in public schools, private schools and schools for delinquents.

After the facts were tabulated to give a cross section of what the children in the different groups are doing with their spare time, this question was asked, "What does school work, as at present organized in Cleveland, actually do for spare time?" It was found that reading, music, athletics, construction work, scientific and art interests rank high in spare-time preferences of school children but that the school treatment of these activities, with the exception of manual training, rank low in their preferences. In other words, the schools do not teach these regular curriculum subjects in a way which influences spare time, although these subjects are enjoyed in spare time and might affect it profoundly, even to becom-

* A summary of "School Work and Spare Time" by F. G. Bonser.

ing the basis of adult uses of spare time. Nor does the educational system preserve even into high school the strong start in interest in these subjects shown in elementary school. From these facts it is evident that the schools are not giving the help in the city's recreational life which they might give, without changing the list of subjects in the course of study by a single item or adding a dollar to the city's budget for a single playground or recreation center.

The companion question is treated in Chapter V of Mr. Bonser's volume, namely: "What might the schools do for spare time?" It was found that only spare-time habits started early in life are permanent. Many spare-time habits of early life drop out in later life but no substitutes come to take their place. The inference is clear that the school might and should, by proper treatment of the subjects of the curriculum which could build spare time, help lay the foundations of a rounded-out and purposeful adult recreation life.

Next, a special study was made of the spare time of 50 children who were two years behind their grade, of the spare time of 50 children who were two years ahead of their grade, and of the spare time of 100 children who were just up to their grade. Each of the three groups, retardant, accelerant, normally progressing, were equally divided between boys and girls. Various check-up tests were also made by different ways of scoring results to insure accuracy.

Not in amount, but in the kind of spare time activities, are accelerant and retardant children distinguished. In general, it was found that the ahead-of-

grade children are those whose spare time pursuits have a schoolish tinge, such as reading, going to the library and museum. They tend to lack constructive interests, like gardening and manual activities. They do not have to work so much out of school as other children.

The behind-grade children show in their spare time more constructive, experimenting, adventurous tendencies. More of them have to work and more of them are occupied with undirected, desultory and time-wasting pursuits.

What is known as a concomitant variation between the kind of spare time activities and school progress was found. By this is meant that certain activities, like music, vary directly with school progress,—the retardants have the least, normal children have more and accelerant children have the most. Other activities, like making things, hiking and having pets, vary inversely with school progress,—the accelerants have the least, normal children more, retardants the most. More than usual participation in certain activities, like athletics and gymnastics, attendance at libraries and museums, reading and playing games, go with rapid school progress. More than usual participation in pool or billiards, doing things read about and working away from home for pay go with retarded school progress. Omission of work at home and of going down town goes with acceleration. Omission of reading, music, trips, visiting libraries and museums goes with retardation. In short, the ahead-of-grade children do the types of things in their spare

time which require some direction from parents or teachers or similar leaders, things like athletics, gym work, music, visiting libraries and museums, Sunday school attendance, games. The behind-grade children do the types of things in their spare time which imply lack of direction, such as going down town, playing pool or billiards, killing time by doing things read about, or they have to work more out of school than normally progressing children.

We have found, then, a relation between the kind of spare time activities and school progress, that is a concomitant or side-by-side variation. Whenever we have a side-by-side variation we know either that changes in one side cause the changes in the other side or that changes in one side indicate, or measure, changes in the other side, changes in both sides being traceable to a common cause. To illustrate, when a man walks in sunlight and casts a shadow there is a concomitant or side-by-side variation and changes in one side cause changes in the other, changes in the motions of the man cause changes in the shadow. To illustrate the other type of concomitant variation, a thermometer in a room which is warming up shows a side-by-side variation, the warmer the room the higher goes the mercury, but the thermometer changes merely indicate or measure the changes in the warmth of the room. The thermometer changes do not cause the room to be warmer but both the thermometer changes and the changes in the warmth of the room are due to a common cause, namely, building a fire in the furnace.

Now, the side-by-side variation between the kind of spare time activities of children and their school progress points either to a cause or to an indicator. It means one of three things:

1. School progress may cause changes in spare time activities, or
2. Spare time activities may cause changes in school progress, or
3. Changes in both may be traceable to a common cause in fundamental child interests and spare time activities are a thermometer to be used in directing and helping school progress.

But it has already been shown that the first possibility is ruled out because school subjects, as now taught, have little influence on spare time activities, except to choke them. Hence spare time activities must be either a cause of school progress or a thermometer of a cause of school progress.

To throw further light on this subject, a supplementary investigation was made of two other possible causes of school progress, namely, the general and special abilities of the children and their economic status and home conditions, as indicated by what their fathers do for a living.

The first investigation showed that over half the ahead-of-grade children were below median ability, while half the behind-grade children were above median ability. This means that general and special ability is not a major cause of school progress. The second investigation showed that, while home conditions, as indicated by the occupation of the father,

are a factor in school progress; they are not an all-controlling factor. Both these supplementary investigations showed that there is a closer relation between spare time pursuits and school progress than between either native ability or economic status and school progress; in other words, that spare time activities are a better thermometer of school progress than either of the other two.

The demonstration that two other factors are not causes of school progress does not prove that spare time activities are a cause of school progress, although the elimination of two other causes somewhat increases the probability that spare time activities are a cause. To the question, "Are spare time activities a cause of school progress?" we must answer, "Not proven."

The demonstration, however, that spare time activities are a good thermometer of interests which influence school progress, means that spare time activities should be utilized in directing school work, as well as helping in the development of spare time habits for adult life.

So much information was turned up about children's reading by this part of the study that a special tabulation was made on the reading habits of the ahead-of-grade and behind-grade children. This emphasized the results of the rest of the study, namely, that the interests of retardant children center largely in the constructive, scientific and generally realistic activities of life.

This entire study of the accelerant and retardant

youngsters and their spare time was made to answer the question, "What do spare time activities actually do for school work, as now handled in Cleveland?" The answer is that spare time interests of children do little for school work because they are not used by the school. The thermometer is there but its plain guidance is not followed. A doctor, who was equally negligent of the symptoms revealed by temperature and pulse, would have many slow-recovering patients. Similar neglect of symptoms of interests accounts for much slow school progress.

What might spare time activities do for school work? They might be an aid to speeding up school progress. Behind-grade children generally do as much in spare time as the normally progressing or ahead-of-grade children; many of them have as much general ability; they are more active with their hands; they read more mechanical, technical, adventuresome books and magazines. Spare time interests indicate the motive power to push children, now ranked as backward, through school at a normal rate of progress. School work needs to give more attention to spare time interests, the educational engine needs to be tightened up so that the steam escaping in a cloud from many joints may be used to speed up school progress.

In conclusion, Professor Bonser points out that his study has been based on a sampling observation of thousands of children. He suggests a controlled experiment covering several years, where one group of children given adequate spare time opportunities

shall be compared with another group of similar age, grading, native ability, economic status, etc., but without such play opportunities. This would more completely reveal the effect of spare time on school work.

This suggests the need and value of an experimental and demonstration center, a combined school, playground and community center, which shall make possible the following things:

1. A school which shall teach subjects like reading, music, drawing, physical education, manual arts and science,—subjects which should influence spare time habits,—in such a way that they shall be liked and shall really influence spare time.
2. A school which shall use the indications from spare time to bring retardant pupils up to grade.
3. An after-school and summer playground for proper use of out-of-school hours.
4. A community center to handle spare time of the young people after school years, along with their older neighbors.
5. A practice center for those who are training to be leaders in playgrounds and community centers.
6. A controlled experiment in the effect of adequate spare time opportunities.

Cleveland, in the fiscal year 1917-1918, spent \$3,822,787.72 in its schools for instruction alone, omitting other maintenance costs. From the Cleveland Foundation's School Survey (What the Schools

Teach and Might Teach) we learned that, in elementary grades above the fourth, 40.7 per cent of the grade time is spent on subjects which should influence spare time,—namely, reading, drawing, manual training and household arts, elementary science, physical training and music. In other words, roughly a million and a half dollars is spent on subjects which should help lay the foundations of future spare time life and which subjects, this study has shown, do not now influence spare time. Cleveland is building up a recreation system but is handicapped by inadequate funds. One step to meet this handicap is to direct the expenditures of that part of school funds which may influence spare time so as to get results for spare time as well as for school time. By so doing, a less expensive recreation system will be necessary without adding to the financial burdens of the schools.

The Foundation's School Survey showed that 22 per cent, or over 15,000 of Cleveland school children are behind the grade (Child Accounting in the Public Schools). Yet Professor Bonser's volume shows that many of these retardants have just as much ability as the normally progressing children and that their spare time activities point the way to interests and motives which, rightly used, could help bring them up to grade.

Use the school system to help the recreation system and make unnecessary abnormal expenditures thereon; use spare time to help the school system and prevent the needless drag of the retardants, this is

the conclusion of this volume. This is one reason for the recommendation made in Vol. VI of the Recreation Survey that all playground work for children of school age should be centralized in the hands of the Board of Education. Thus only can economical administration be possible.

CHAPTER III

WHOLESOME CITIZENS AND SPARE TIME*

There have been studies of different kinds to show how faulty recreation has hurt people and made them delinquent. No studies have hitherto been made on the other side, to learn what recreation has done to help people and to make them wholesome. This is such a positive study. It seeks to learn the kinds of recreation engaged in by wholesome people, to learn the part recreation has had in developing wholesomeness and to learn how the recreation habits of wholesome people were formed.

On the basis of a definition of a wholesome citizen made up after extensive conference and the criticism of many minds, a number of people were asked to name citizens of their acquaintance who came up to these specifications. From the list suggested, 160 were chosen representing Cleveland's population in the matter of nationality, occupation and sex. Checking up this sampling carefully showed the group selected to be fairly typical. Variations in typicality were guarded so as not to make the results inaccurate. It is clear that the recreation habits and

* A summary of "Wholesome Citizens and Spare Time". by John L. Gillin.

the methods of getting them shown by this group hold good, on the whole, for the run of wholesome Clevelanders.

Nearly all the 160 cases were over 25 years of age. Each was carefully interviewed as to recreation habits in five life periods. The quickest way to get a bird's eye view of changes with age in the popularity of different forms of recreation is to note the three most popular forms for each age period. They are:

Elementary school period	Reading	Home Duties	Games
High school and college period	"	Dancing	Theatre-going
School to marriage period	"	Theatre-going	Dancing
Marriage to past year	"	"	Visiting
Past year	"	Entertaining	Theatre-going

It will be observed that reading stands constantly first, that dancing is a recreation of youth, dropping out after marriage, that theatre-going increases in popularity in the early adult period but gives way to visiting and entertaining with the development of home life.

Sixty-one per cent of these wholesome citizens had an active play life in childhood. Play away from home or school was reported more times than either at home or in school and the away-from-home play was more active, chiefly because the opportunities for active play were greater away from home. This indicates the importance of away-from-home play space and leadership even with those whose home conditions are favorable.

A constant decrease in active recreation, a constant growth of sedentary recreation marks the trend of all the periods. Thus gym, basketball, dramatics,

bicycling and horseback riding drop out of popularity and card playing, travel, social clubs, lounging, committee meetings are mentioned more and more frequently with increasing age. The spell of the arm chair, the shadow of the committee room gather around the growing man. Social interests wax, physical exercises wane with these wholesome citizens. It is more than a coincidence that this growth of sedentariness is paralleled by the increase of organic diseases. We are conquering the germ diseases but not the organic diseases and this lack of exercise is one of the reasons.

For the parent and educator the most useful chapter is that on how these wholesome citizens came to adopt their recreation activities. Three causes stand preeminent—the suggestions of relatives and friends, facilities, love of activity. During school life, 70 per cent of the recreation activities are taken up because of suggestion from others, namely, leadership. In the period between school and marriage 42 per cent of the activities are traceable to suggestion of others, namely leadership, and 29 per cent more to habit, most of which was the result of previous leadership. It was found that most spare time habits, like all other habits, are formed in childhood, and, in childhood, 70 per cent of these habits are formed because of the leadership and suggestion of some other person. Some years ago a humorous periodical pooh-poohed the idea of play leadership, saying that it was no more necessary to teach children to play than to teach ducks to swim. But this study shows that with these

youngsters who grew into wholesome citizens, 70 per cent of their childhood play habits were formed under leadership of some kind.

Who exercised this leadership? The following groups of people in the following order—

1. Playmates outside the family.
2. Parents.
3. Children in the home.
4. Adults in the home other than parents, such as uncles, aunts, grown up brothers and sisters.
5. Adults outside the home, like teachers, Sunday school leaders and the like.

Playmates were more effective teachers than adults. This points to one kind of leadership which grown-ups must use, namely, indirect leadership by selecting neighborhoods and playmates for children in their care. Every year, thousands of Cleveland householders look for new homes. They inspect carefully the location and size of the rooms, the neatness of the lawn, the nearness of the car line and the distance from school. They less frequently inquire as to the kind of playmates their children are to have, although these playmates are to be the most powerful influence in forming the play habits of the children.

Five other factors which influenced these wholesome citizens were studied, namely, the economic status of their parents, home conditions, chums and gangs, church attendance and school education. Most of those studied were children of parents in moderate circumstances, neither notably rich nor grievously

poor. Few of these children who became wholesome citizens were orphans and there was little divorce or drunkenness among their parents. Contrary to the theories of some child experts, few of these wholesome citizens were members of gangs or had intimate chums. They seemed to have been members of changing groups which were constantly dissolving and re-forming.

The church played a prominent part and in some cases an unusual part in the lives of these wholesome citizens. Ninety-two per cent of this group attended church or Sunday school in their childhood or youth although an average of only 58 per cent are church members or regular attendants now that they are grown up. Seventy-two per cent of their parents were church members or attendants. It is indisputable that religious motives and the church atmosphere gave direction to the lives of these wholesome citizens.

It is also true that their educational advantages were unusual. Seventy per cent went to high school compared with 41 per cent for the graduates of Cleveland's elementary schools now. Fifty-two per cent of these wholesome citizens finished high school as contrasted with 19 per cent of elementary school graduates in Cleveland who finish high school now. Three-quarters of this group who entered high school finished. Now, only one-half of those who enter high school finish. In other words, the educational opportunities of these wholesome citizens were better than those of their contemporaries or of the average child of the present.

Summarizing the characteristics of the recreation of wholesome citizens, we find that, on the whole, these recreations have been lively, purposeful, participative. They have been activities which release from routine and exercise innate powers. They have been free from the passivity of mere amusement. They have been sociable activities. The recreation which develops wholesomeness, we judge from these records, is the recreation which releases the energies of the individual himself.

Summarizing the disclosure of the needs of Cleveland if it is to have wholesome citizens, we find two—the need of inventive leadership for children and the need of a crusade of athleticism for adults.

We need leadership for children because it has been shown that few recreation interests are acquired after the school period, because fluctuating interests are shown to tend to return to the level of their popularity in childhood, because distinctive recreation habits persist to the extent to which they are cultivated in youth. The wholesome citizens here studied, grew up under leadership, albeit haphazard leadership. We cannot depend now, as in the past, on such haphazard leadership because the following influences make the hap more hazardous, namely the extension of easily-found passive amusement, lessening of yard space around homes and the increased occupation of parents away from home.

We need the leadership of a recreation inventor to transform traditional games and activities to meet changed living conditions. The inventors of side-

walk roller skates, of basketball, of the large ball and small bat which make baseball possible on the small vacant lots of a growing city, point the way.

We need a crusade to combat the sedentariness which shuts down on the growing man and woman. Every gymnasium club for adults, every park baseball field for grown-ups, every golf and athletic organization for people of middle years is just one more weapon against the organic diseases which this sedentariness invites.

We are fortunate in city planning for the Cleveland of 1940. We need to be citizen-planning for the Clevelanders of 1940 by furnishing leadership which shall produce wholesome citizens and by encouraging active spare time pursuits, to help wholesome citizens resist the tendency to take their recreation sitting down.

CHAPTER IV

COMMERCIAL RECREATION*

This volume studies the quantity and quality of commercial recreation in Cleveland, the forms of regulation employed and the suggestions from commercial recreation for public and private recreation agencies. The types of commercial recreation particularly studied are moving picture shows, billiard rooms and coffee houses. Less exhaustive treatment is given to dance halls, amusement parks, lake excursions, professional baseball, bowling and burlesque theatres.

In quantity of recreation furnished, the commercial agencies far exceed public or private agencies. The movies of Cleveland have an annual attendance of about 26,000,000, the dance halls of Cleveland about a million and a half, amusement parks two and a quarter million, professional baseball half a million. Lake excursion boats handle out of Cleveland about 170,000 annually. The attendance at billiard rooms, bowling alleys and coffee houses is difficult to estimate accurately because they vary so in size and in the number of non-players present. The only accurate figure available is the number of places operat-

* A summary of "Commercial Recreation."

ing. At the time of the survey there were 443 billiard rooms, 160 bowling alleys and about 50 genuine coffee houses in Cleveland.

The quality of recreation at Cleveland movies has been constantly improving and is of a high order within the limitations of the type, the limitations of a purely passive amusement, in which there is no opportunity for self-expression. The chief shortcoming in the way of quality is lack of adaptation to the interests of different ages and audiences. Movie houses furnish a table d'hote recreation repast and the menu is fixed by the distributing exchange. The manager of the individual house, who knows the requirements of his patrons best, can do little but take the program sent him by the exchange. This is, however, a universal condition of the business throughout the country.

The quality of recreation furnished by Cleveland billiard rooms varies greatly. Intrinsically, billiards is one of the best types of indoor recreation. In the better rooms the recreation from the game is the chief thing and there is little loafing or gambling. The quality of recreation in billiard rooms suffers largely because there are too many of the small places. Experience has shown that hardly any room with less than six tables can furnish a living income to its proprietor. In Cleveland 85 per cent of the rooms have less than six tables. Without a living income, there is a great temptation for the proprietor to wink at gambling and improper associations.

Coffee houses are a new form of commercial rec-

reation center in Cleveland and their growth is especially significant with the closing of the saloon. They meet a real recreation need among the foreign born middle-aged man away from his family. Their chief danger is found in considerable casual prostitution.

The question uppermost in most minds with regard to commercial recreation is the matter of control. The survey volume considers three methods of control, namely, legal control, trade control and social control through public opinion of the patrons or consumers of commercial recreation.

When a form of recreation is demanded by a large number of people, when it can be standardized for quantity production and when the price can be standardized for quantity consumption, we inevitably have commercial recreation. Legal control only becomes necessary where public interest demands it,—as in the case of the distribution of milk,—because of wholesale consumption and because of danger to the public from abuses. In the case of commercial recreation these dangers arise chiefly where there are promiscuous social contacts as in billiard rooms, dance halls, coffee houses, lake excursions or where public opinion has no other machinery for acting quickly as in the case of some movie films. The instrument for enforcing legal control is through licensing and adequate inspection to see that the conditions on which the license is granted are observed.

In the case of moving picture houses, legal control has now largely to do with the physical conditions of the theatres. In the matter of films, the field of

regulation is narrowly limited to protection of the public from violations of the most obvious standards of propriety. The Ohio Board of Censors has occasionally shown a confusion of standards but on the whole has kept strictly within this field and has neither sought to use its powers for political purposes nor has it sought to set a standard of morality for the thousands of movie patrons in the state. It has simply tried to apply the most commonly accepted standards of propriety. In the year 1918-1919 they rejected less than one-half of one per cent and made eliminations in about 10 per cent of the films viewed by them.

In the case of billiard rooms, legal control is needed chiefly in the way of limiting the number of rooms, thus protecting the public from the small rooms which cannot be profitable and in which the proprietor has to resort to illegitimate profits for a living income.

Trade control exists in Cleveland in the movies, billiards, dance halls and professional baseball, but only in professional baseball has it shown what it can really do to improve the quality of recreation furnished. The Cleveland Baseball Company has done everything in its power to stop betting on games and through its national affiliations has insisted on fairness of the players and the decorum of the attending crowds.

The Motion Picture Exhibitors Association has confined itself thus far chiefly to the prices of films, wage scales of employees and trade tips on the success

of different films and advertising methods. If they come to recognize more clearly their trade solidarity, that the mistakes of one house may injure the whole business, and if these extend their cooperation with private agencies who need not compete with them but can reach classes which they cannot profitably cater to, they will make their trade control a real instrument for improving the recreation they furnish.

The Cleveland Billiards Association has gone further in purpose, although operation falls short of this purpose. They seek to promote favorable public opinion toward their business and hence are interested in improving the quality and reputation of all billiard halls.

Cleveland dance hall proprietors have an association but it has done little beyond working on the technical details of their business. In this field, Euclid Beach has done more by establishing high standards of propriety, which have been profitable to the Euclid Beach management and which have been the measure of the standards of other dance halls.

Social control, or control by the public opinion of the patrons of commercial recreation, has been the most powerful force in this field although this form of control works like frost or tides, often unnoticed. Cleveland's repeated experience has taught commercial recreation proprietors that it pays to be good. That better standards lead to better profits, has been found in the movies, billiards and dance halls. The success of the poorer standards is only temporary.

This is not a preaching but the actual experience of commercial recreation enterprises in Cleveland. It is the slow but effective result of social control.

Such social control needs leadership. It sometimes needs to be made evident. The National Board of Review of Motion Pictures is an illustration of mixed trade control and social control. It is supported by the moving picture industry which is interested in its fight on the interferences of legal boards of censorship. But it also, through its connections with the consuming public throughout the country, has done much to raise the standards of films shown. Because near the producers, it has been able to present these standards during the time the film is being made or revised. Local leadership of the public opinion of the patrons of moving picture shows could also enforce these standards, not during the production stage, but during the distribution stage.

What can public agencies learn from this study? Chiefly the need of centralizing of licensing power for all commercial agencies in the hands of the same administrative division, preferably in a board containing representatives of the city government, the commercial agencies, and the general or consuming public. At present, the licensing power is scattered among several bureaus.

As will be shown in the next chapter, private and cooperative agencies have their function in doing what public and commercial agencies cannot do. What can these private agencies learn from this study of commercial forms? They can learn the need

of furnishing movies to children, who do not furnish a large part of the patronage of the best movie houses and whose interests hence cannot control the movie menu. They can learn the need of supplying billiards to those too young or too poor to use the regular commercial rooms. They can learn the need of supplying the intimate friendly oversight for dances which no large commercial hall can provide. From the fact that both Euclid Beach and Luna Park are financially successful—Euclid Beach by furnishing self-expressive, participative forms of recreation to middle class groups, Luna Park by furnishing thrills and exciting amusements to the industrial group—they can learn the need of adaptation of the style of the recreation they furnish to the clientele they hope to reach.

Commercial recreation is an asset to any community. It will always carry the brunt of away-from-home adult recreation. Its necessary limitations due to the fact that it must make a profit can be supplemented by cooperative agencies which have merely to make expenses and, with selected especially needy groups, by philanthropic agencies who do not cover even expenses.

CHAPTER V

THE SPHERE OF PRIVATE AGENCIES*

This volume studies the recreation activities of private agencies both philanthropic and cooperative. These agencies occupy the great middle field between public or tax-supported recreation agencies and commercial or revenue-producing agencies.

Of philanthropic agencies, that is, agencies supported wholly or largely by contributions of others than those receiving the benefits conferred, four types are studied. These type distinctions are based on differences of clientele. These four types are—

1. Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., which reach a special age group chiefly with some religious affiliation.
2. Churches, which reach family and neighborhood groups of all ages and with religious affiliations.
3. Settlements, which reach family and neighborhood groups of all ages, but without religious affiliations.
4. The Museum of Art which is city-wide in its appeal, reaching all ages for a special interest.

Of cooperative agencies, that is, agencies supported wholly by those receiving the benefits, three

* A summary of "The Sphere of Private Agencies."

types are studied, also on the basis of clientele reached. These types are—

1. Recreation of workers in industry.
2. Recreation of foreign groups in Cleveland's population, and
3. Recreation of miscellaneous groups, chiefly English speaking, who have varied recreation interests.

The chief contribution of the volume is its outline of the field for each of these types of agencies and suggestions on the policy for expansion for each. In this summary chapter, only such facts of a descriptive character will be given as give reasons for the policies suggested.

Studying the clientele of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., we find the following characteristics:

1. It is predominantly Protestant in affiliation although all young people are welcome to the privileges of these organizations.
2. It is predominantly drawn from the English-speaking section of the city's population, although special work is done for those of foreign birth or parentage.
3. It is predominantly for those over 18 years of age. In the Y. M. C. A., the adult membership is five times the junior membership.
4. It is predominantly from mercantile rather than industrial workers, clerks more than manual workers, although the Railroad Y. M. C. A. and the Industrial Women's Club and Service

Center of the Y. W. C. A. reach selected groups of industrial workers.

There are two characteristics peculiar to the Y. M. C. A. The average length of membership is eighteen months, the benefits being given to constantly changing groups as in a college. The groups using the buildings—for recreation rather than educational classes—are largely those who seek physical exercise.

The suggested policy of development dovetails into that suggested for churches in the next paragraph. Most churches are not adapted to do specialized recreation work for young men and women. The Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. do have specially trained leadership for these age groups and they do reach those of church affiliation. Hence, the great field of expansion for these associations is to furnish, in association buildings, special facilities and leadership for the church affiliation group over eighteen years of age and to furnish, in church facilities, leadership for those under that age. This outlines a policy in line with the successful experience of the associations, both for work in their buildings and for extension work outside their own buildings. Until the city can furnish adequate leadership, these associations should give trained leadership in use of school gymnasiums outside of school hours in community center activities. Another demand comes from the revelations of the volume on "Wholesome Citizens and Spare Time" as to the dire growth of sedentary recreation habits. Because of their splendid success in physical recreation, these associations should join with all athletic

and sports clubs in a crusade for active recreation for those who are susceptible to organic diseases from lack of exercise.

With certain notable exceptions, few churches conduct any considerable recreation activity either in their own plants or in outside facilities. Church gymnasiums are not usually used to capacity, showing that the investment therein is at present large in comparison to use. Churches have not developed specialized leadership for recreation. On the other hand, the church is adapted to activities like socials, picnics, etc. which reach the whole family group and do not require special equipment. The obvious policy of expansion, except in certain peculiar situations, is for the church to develop such family recreation activities to the utmost and to leave to the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. the work requiring specialized equipment and personnel for selected age groups.

Another large task devolves on the church. As the final chapter of this volume points out, 60 per cent of the recreation hours of the city's population will always have to be cared for under home and individual direction. This calls for more leadership by parents of the play of their own children. The church can and should assume much of the task of inspiring, encouraging and leading parents in meeting this great responsibility.

There are eleven settlements in Cleveland; nine of them carry on playground activities; six of them have gymnasiums; five have dance halls; eight

maintain game rooms; three have summer camps; all do much club and class work of a recreation character. The distinguishing features of settlement work are their capacity for personal individual leadership, their usefulness as experiment stations and their power to act as an organizing nucleus even outside their own buildings. There are 20,000 actual or near delinquents, caught and uncaught, in Cleveland. The volume on "Delinquency and Spare Time" showed the need of personal program-planning leadership for these delinquents and near delinquents. The settlement can furnish such a big-brother type of personal leadership. Public agencies cannot. This points to one special recreation task of the settlement. Another is to act as the organizing force in the use of community centers and other public facilities. A third is to carry on pioneering experiments in recreation activities. The summary chapter on "Wholesome Citizens and Spare Time" pointed out the need of recreation inventors to develop new forms of games and play, in essence the same as age-old forms, but adapted to the conditions of city life. The settlements can furnish some of these recreation inventors.

The Museum of Art might more properly be called a privately subsidized, rather than a philanthropic, institution, although it shares with philanthropic agencies the characteristic of being supported chiefly by others than those who enjoy its benefits. In the field of art, as with the Musical Arts Association in the field of music, its task is to bring the inspiration

of beautiful things to every member in the community. Loan exhibits, school classes, docent service and lectures are its means of widely developing this inspiration. In expansion, nothing can be suggested beyond that already planned or hoped for by its able promoters.

It may have seemed strange that recreation for and among industrial workers should be classed with cooperative agencies, even where the support sometimes comes largely from the employer. The definition laid down for a cooperative agency is one where the financial support comes entirely from those receiving the benefits. This is the case in all rightly-conducted industrial recreation. The employer, as well as the worker, benefits. As a citizen, the employer may recognize that his factory is only part of society and that he has no business to scrap, by work, the capacities of his employees, making these employees unable to meet their other responsibilities in society, namely, to the home, church and community and political life, but as employer, he is chiefly interested in recreation among industrial workers as it affects production. His welfare department becomes frankly a mutual interest department in which both the employer and worker are interested as the recreation brings greater or better production.

Within the factory and work hours, the amount and kind of recreation opportunities in rest rooms and relaxation periods is to be determined by time and fatigue studies. No general rule can be set down covering all plants and each problem must be worked

out by the production manager or his consulting industrial engineer.

To spare time hours spent outside the plant, Cleveland industries need to give much more attention than they have. The division of labor which is imperative for highly efficient production inevitably dwarfs the worker. It makes fractions of men by cramping self-expression. The antidote must be found largely during spare time. The worker must become a full grown man by finding self-expression. A whole man makes a better worker than a half man, for one reason, because workers will not stay in a job if they can help it where they permanently must remain half men. This is one, although not the only, cause of labor turnover and a cause which will loom larger as workers appreciate more and more the need of self-expression in, or along with, their work. Behind the demand of workers for a larger share in management, as well as a larger share in profits, is this half defined feeling of the need of self-expression which can come through sharing in management. But all practical schemes of management depend on the delegating, by the whole body of workers, of their powers to selected representatives. These selected representatives may get further self-expression in sharing in management, but nine-tenths of the workers must find the antidote in spare time. The practical method of recognizing this is through the fostering by factory managers of tax-supported agencies and cooperative agencies in the community and in providing supplemental facilities and organiz-

ing, but not directing, leadership, prior to the time that these activities among industrial workers can be self-supporting.

For a summary of recreation activities among foreign groups in Cleveland, the reader must be referred to Chapter VIII of Volume IV. Here it can only be pointed out that these foreign groups have a contribution of long grown culture in singing, dances and festivals which Cleveland needs for a rich community recreation life. Real Americanization cannot come merely by acquiring American habits and learning American ideas by knowing English, but must come by doing something for America, by contributing this rich culture to our city. A company of organizers is needed, one for each language group, to lead this fundamental Americanization work.

There are 14 civic societies in Cleveland with an aggregate membership of 29,106. Their recreation problem is to furnish the intelligent public opinion which shall make the work of public and private agencies possible. There are 123 fraternal orders in the city. They form a basis of much of the cooperative recreation effort of the best type. There are about 275 labor unions in the city, counting both affiliated and unaffiliated locals. Their task is to help guide the development of cooperative recreation among industrial workers. Such recreation is essential to meet the cramping effect of division of work in industry, and no cooperative effort can be successful without leadership trained in the cooperative problems of labor. There are six strictly social clubs

with a total membership of 4,816 whose task is to give recreation to their members. There are 13 athletic, country and sports clubs which with the Cleveland Amateur Baseball and Athletic Association have a large task in the crusade against sedentary recreation. The Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Girl Scouts, Girls City Club have a problem of developing a highly specialized program for adolescent boys and girls and young men and women. They give a chance to use and direct volunteer leadership. There are scores of musical, art, literary and dramatic clubs which have much to contribute in promoting selected forms of recreation to give the city a varied play diet. Further than this sketch of policy, each has an individual clientele to cultivate, requiring a thought-out program for each too long to be covered in any brief space.

There are at least 868 private agencies in Cleveland having some interest in recreation. They spend an aggregate of at least a million dollars per year on recreation. They need to be knit together in a central body in which all are represented and through which their activities can be coordinated. As an orchestra has a score written for each player, so each private agency has a distinct program which is an integral and necessary part of the city's entire recreation program.

CHAPTER VI

PUBLIC PROVISION FOR RECREATION*

This volume studies the work of recreation agencies supported by public taxation, namely, playgrounds, both on school and park property, school gardens, school community centers, bath houses and the public library. For each of these agencies, the volume summarizes the amount of work done and a sound policy of development. This summary chapter will consider chiefly the task and policy for these public agencies, treating quantity of work done only in relation to its adequacy to meet the need as a part of the policy of development.

Conditions of modern life, especially in cities, make it impossible to handle all recreation under home or individual direction. The supplementing by commercial, philanthropic and cooperative agencies is incomplete, hence the place of public agencies. That which,—like vital education of children through play, is too urgent for a city to neglect, or that which,—like parks, athletic fields and public libraries, can be handled less expensively for space and equipment than under cooperative or commercial auspices,

* A summary of "Public Provision for Recreation" by Rowland Haynes and Stanley P. Davies.

—is the task of tax-supported agencies. By nature, their work must be done in a wholesale way because the demands upon them are wholesale. Urgency, economy, wholesale need are the ear marks of what can legitimately be expected of public agencies.

The most urgent item of policy for playgrounds in Cleveland is to provide leaders enough to use the space which the city already owns. The next most urgent item is to provide additional play areas in the most congested districts. The next thing is to provide adequate space for future playground needs before land values become prohibitive.

The city now owns 126 acres of playground space in school and park areas, which the children need to use for fifty-two weeks in the year. These are the children who cannot be handled under home leadership. The city is now using 42.5 acres for ten weeks in the year, that is, using one-third of its playground property for one-fifth of the time. It is making a seven per cent use of its property to meet an urgent need. Hence the item of first importance is to provide adequate leadership.

When we study space available for play outside public playgrounds, that is, in private yards, vacant lots and safe streets, we find apparently enough space, except in the most congested areas, to meet minimum requirements. Taking an absolute minimum, crowding children in their play more than is ever done in Cleveland, but not more than experience shows can be done, and making allowances for the fact that all the children are not playing at once,

we find that Cleveland needs 688 acres of play space and has 3,439 acres in private yards, vacant lots and safe streets. The city has 2,421 acres of possible play space in private yards and vacant lots without the streets. There is apparently, then, three and a half times the minimum space requirements if we count only private yards and vacant lots.

Two factors disturb this generalization, accessibility and division into small areas. The average radius of usefulness of a playground in Cleveland is one-fifth to one-quarter mile. If there is not a play space around the corner, several acres a mile away do little good to most children. Back yards, if thrown together, might handle most of the children of a neighborhood but on private allotment they are available for only a few. Many vacant lots are not used because of danger of damage to adjacent property.

Even with these qualifications the space problem for immediate needs is urgent only in three congested sections known as type 5 development and mapped in the volume here summarized. It is hoped that the policy of hand-to-mouth provision for immediate needs only when they become cryingly urgent, need not become permanent and hence immediate steps should be taken to provide play spaces in areas not yet over-congested. Furthermore, leadership needs to be provided not only for the play spaces already owned by the city, as above noted, but also for use of vacant lots in neighborhoods where public spaces are too small or not near enough to large groups of the children.

For detailed suggestions for improving quality of the work on all grounds, the reader will have to be referred to the volume itself. Two factors affecting the leaders themselves are worth noting—one is the between-season and during-season “turnover” or change in the workers, which means that the experience of workers is not being used. The between-season change ranged in 1919 from 61 per cent to 71 per cent and the during-season change between 31 per cent and 41 per cent. The second item is that, on the ratings of the school and park supervisors, not on the ratings of the survey staff, 28 per cent to 45 per cent of the workers ranked good or excellent. Increase in pay rates is necessary if good workers are to be obtained and kept and the benefits of their experience preserved for the improvement of the quality of the work.

The unification of administration of all playgrounds for children of school age in the hands of the Board of Education is a necessary policy, first, to put the part of education which is play in the hands of the board charged with the whole educational program of the city, second, to prevent duplication of administrative and training machinery, and third, to relieve the funds of the Park Department to allow it to build up a corps of special workers able to handle mass uses of the parks and develop adult athletics in the parks.

Each child who leaves the public schools of Cleveland represents an investment by the city of from \$170 to \$580, according to the number of grades covered. It is only sound economy that this invest-

ment should not be wasted by wrong spare time habits formed during the years immediately after leaving school. The wider use of the school plant after school hours is not an end but a means of meeting a need and saving an investment.

These facts block out the policy for community centers in Cleveland. There are two types of community center activities, those in which the city can be rightly asked to carry all or part of the expense and those in which the city merely allows the use of public buildings at cost. The first are activities for those young people who have recently left school whose spare time habits need help in formation if the school investment in their education is not to be jeopardized. The second are activities which are now, or which can soon become, entirely self-supporting and self-directed.

The experience of the last four years in Cleveland in school community centers was emphasized by the war experience with the neighborhood service centers, namely, that in a few specially needy sections there should be largely subsidized centers covering a wide range of activities. These might be termed managed centers and the city should meet the entire expense if necessary. In other sections are needed centers where the city provides only leadership to get activities going. These might be called organized centers. The last class would be those where the city furnishes nothing except the building, charging maintenance costs for heat, light and custodian service, but not overhead costs on capital invested in the

plant. These might be called promoted or encouraged centers.

School gardens furnish the most available form of expression for the nurturing instinct, which instinct is otherwise pretty much crowded out of the average city child's life. They are an essential part of any complete play program, although they do not furnish a complete play life as some enthusiasts maintain.

At the time of this survey the city had four bath houses and two more under construction. These houses furnish not only baths but three of them give gymnasium facilities and also club and community center activities. The only suggestion of policy to be made is that all be equipped with leadership and facilities to do the type of community center work that one or two of them are already doing.

On the side of strictly park activities the two chief needs are for more neighborhood parks and athletic fields and for park treatment combined with commercial development of the lake front. The parks Cleveland now has are well planned and used, but with a few exceptions are not near the centers of population which need them most. There are only three strictly neighborhood parks and they leave a large proportion of the city's population unserved by a "home park" and athletic field. With the task before the Park Department of furnishing not only mass uses of scenic areas like Wade Park, but also of providing chances for active outdoor athletics for adults, the need for district athletic fields is apparent.

The third volume of this survey showed the large

place of reading in the recreation life of wholesome citizens at all ages. The public library is an educational agency but it also bulks large as a recreation agency. It is estimated that 85% of the library circulation or 2,674,026 volumes in 1918 was for recreational purposes. The only suggestion of the survey is not of change of policy but of extension of the branch library system to the sections of the city not now covered and increase in number of books to make possible larger recreation service.

The task of public recreation agencies is peculiarly vital in the recreation program. If one commercial agency fails another will take up its work. Private agencies do not attempt to meet wholesale the needs before the city agencies. If the city agencies fail to meet their assignment the future citizens of Cleveland must meet life handicapped.

PART II

AN INTERPRETATION OF THE SURVEY

CHAPTER VII

A LESSON FROM THE GULLIES*

Lying, stealing, vagrancy, immorality, known to us as delinquency, have a very distinct and unquestioned relation to the misuse of spare time. A study of juvenile court cases in Cleveland in 1916 reveals a connection between delinquency and habitual misuse of spare time in three out of four cases. Nearly as definite a relation is traceable in the municipal court of more mature offenders.

These conclusions do not mean that delinquents deliberately dedicate their spare time to preparation for delinquency. From small boys and girls to grown men and women they are seeking for excitement, pleasure, happiness, and the life of the city has so twisted the natural paths to these things that on the way seekers are drawn into delinquency.

A small boy who lives on an alley in Cleveland goes out hunting adventure. Back of the alley is one of

* This chapter is based upon the volume of the Survey entitled "Delinquency and Spare Time" by Henry W. Thurston.

the gullies that cut into the Cuyahoga valley from every direction. The gully is environed with dumps; its uncertain little water course is fringed with a few bushes; the bare patches where the earth comes through are surrounded by dirty weeds. Paths run up and down across the gully, run to the rock piles at the bottom where suggestions of caves and secret chambers are found. In this gully the small boy finds the mysterious land of his imaginings. The wildest screamer of the movie leads him here to enact for himself the drama he has seen. He sits with others close about an improvised camp-fire. In whisperings they tell each other of the cave they have heard about that starts somewhere under the culvert and that hides within it—what wild thing can only be left to a small boy's imagination. Over the rocks the boys play hide-and-seek, "Indian," bandit, all the games boys know.

This picture is so much like your own wholesome childhood that you wonder what it has to do with "delinquency." That it is so much like wholesomeness is the key to the so-called problem of delinquency and spare time. In truth this kind of play is so much like wholesome recreation and yet in subtle ways so perilously different that it constitutes the heart of the problem of delinquency.

About the otherwise innocent camp-fires of the gully gather the men-of-the-road, the hoboes who are "laying-over" in Cleveland. About the camp-fires they tell the tales of the road, the tales of things that are crimes or on the edge of crimes, tell them

from within the glamour that, in the eyes of small boys, surrounds grown men, tell them with a swagger that clothes their mean deed with romance. About the camp-fires the boys have paused in their bandit games. This is real banditry; these are real bandits besides whom the imitation grows stale. Quickly enough the boys themselves have a desire to be men-of-the-road.

On the dump heaps along the edges of the gullies the boys get their first training in "junking." Their fingers lose their small native property sense as they prowl over the junk heaps and the appetite for picking up things grows. This picking-up habit spreads from the scrap iron on the junk piles to the iron castings on the flat cars in the railroad yards and the boys are on the low trail of delinquency.

The railroad yards that fill the bottom of the river valley and stretch along the lake are schools for delinquents. A railroad yard is a place of transient, mysterious cargoes and of glorious daring men who pass, a land of mystery, and a boy who "just aches for adventure" is certain to be drawn in by the lure. He loves to climb over and peer into the empty and half-filled cars. Here he learns the ways of the vagrant, here he travels in gangs and forages as he goes, here he gets an elementary training in delinquency. For miles in Cleveland these railroad yards lie between thousands of youngsters and their natural playground, the lake. The very lay-out of the city leads the boys into these yards where trouble is bred for them.

Most that we have considered so far has to do with the largely incidental "tumbling" into delinquency. This delinquency is what people sometimes characterize as "lawlessness," meaning not deliberate lawbreaking but an easy contempt and disregard for even the possibility of the existence of laws.

There comes a more active phase of delinquency, however, when the delinquent is more conscious of the unethicalness of his or her act but is so bent on having a good time that consequences are let to care for themselves. Here the child or young person is making a "break for the Open," a dash into something that looks equally satisfying to all the longings for excitement. The thought of "rushing" the door-keeper of a moving picture house, of shoving a ladder up and scaling the door of a grocery that has just closed, takes on a tantalizing quality.

The community must offer some active competition in the way of recreation if it is going to keep aggressive spirits out of these difficulties. The gullies must be put to some constructive use and they and the lake front must be kept free of the morally contaminating hoboes. The city can not ignore these gullies when it makes its recreation plans. They are too wonderful an attraction to be ignored. Either they must be "civilized" and thus bereft of their charm or they must be cultivated as wonder-spots of adventure. Scout troops under competent leadership find gullies even more wonderful, for trained imaginations can people these spots with new attractions and new adventures undreamed of by the hobo.

The high school geographer and geologist will find the gully a means of making his studies practical and interesting. These places are full of lore for the nature student. Someone must be the leader, however, to guide the way to the better uses of the gullies.

Any attempts now by private recreation organizations to enter into competition with the allurements of the paths of delinquency are too sieve-like. There are too many holes in the way they cover the city. They do not get together to "hold the lines" at all points so that every individual that needs recreational guidance gets it.

The problems of spare time activities in their relation to the delinquency of adults present essentially the same characteristics as that of the problem of the child. It was found perfectly easy in Cleveland to "pick up" a large proportion of the girls found in dance halls. These girls had in many cases made up their minds that they were willing to "have a time," no matter what the cost might prove to be. They took immoral practices as a part of this. Intimate talks with girls did not indicate that most of them were out for money in these practices. They were out primarily for pleasure, they wanted the ordinary pleasures of their kind, and the city threw them into circumstances where the price of something like these pleasures was immoral practice.

Many of the girls encountered in dance halls said that they were "picked up" because they had no

place in which to meet a "fellow" or to which to take him. They could not take him into the crowded living rooms of their homes. The actual conversation of one girl in Cleveland throws light upon the philosophy to which her training and her circumstances had carried her. About her remarks there is a suggestion of a kind of honesty that somewhat relieves the bare sordidness of her philosophy.

"All of us girls," she said, "like to get out once in a while. We can't entertain company where we live because we only room there and have no place, anyway we can have more fun outside. If a fellow takes me out and shows me a good time I'll do the right thing. It's little enough for a girl to do if a man spends a bunch of money on her. All of these girls here (referring to the other three girls from the restaurant who were with her) are on the level like that."

For the sake of the future the condition illustrated in this story throws a direct challenge back to the city to provide places under proper supervision at which a girl can "meet a fellow."

After all, this problem of the spare time of the adult in a large measure dates back to youth. A great temptation to mis-spend a life lies in its emptiness. The man who in youth has developed or has had developed for him a rich, resourceful background of recreative life is not going to be led easily into the sort of spare-time activity that draws inevitably to delinquency.

The public school should do much to see that a

colorful and interesting "by-life" is at hand to the men and women who have gone through its mill.

Just what to do to make spare-time activities constructive instead of destructive is asked by the practical citizen. It is not a question that can be answered categorically. The problem is so entirely human and therefore varying that the ways of solving it must be human and various.

The frame of mind in which the public approaches this question is of primary importance. To get really into the problem of delinquency and spare-time in the modern city we need to scrap our faith in some of the familiar exhortations against wickedness.

"Don't keep bad company" alone is a silly thing to say to a boy or girl if the city has taken away the possibility of determining "good" and "bad" in companionship, if it provides nothing but bad companions to the boy and to the girl who are social beings.

"Don't steal" alone can have little force in the neighborhood where the city makes stealing a natural next-door activity to the youngster's habitual one of scavenging on the scrap-heaps of forsaken gullies. "Don't lie" is a futile exhortation if the city provides no society except that of the gang, the ethics of which make "peaching" on a friend the sole high crime.

"Mind your parents" alone must lose its standing as one of the fundamental social mandates when the city gives the children parents that are themselves drunk, immoral, or too busy with their industrial life

to give much attention to the essential activities of the child.

At best the wage-earning parent in the busy modern city is not just "out in the garden" or "down the lane" as he was back in the country where he could hear the child's conversation, know his friends, and perhaps set him to work at some farm chore.

We are bent on building, we who would make useful men and women of the material which is found on the alleys and in the gullies, and like good builders, we must work with the material at hand. We cannot set up ancient idols of conduct or lay down dogmatic rules of action based on our experience in a suburban community or with an earlier generation.

The practical hint for all of us in this study of delinquency and spare time, is that we see, individually and together, that our city gives leadership, and good leadership, to its youth. Personal influence is, after all, the real dynamic in determining what kind of manhood and womanhood we shall make of our youth.

You can rear your recreational structure of brick and mortar, you can fill it with the most modern and attractive social and physical equipment and, without upward-leading personalities within it, it will become either a mere negative factor or a starting-point for delinquency.

Likewise you can take no equipment except the strong personalities, vigorous sympathies, and kindling imaginations of able leaders and you can turn the force of your alley and gully environment upward in the shaping of human character.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SCHOOLROOM AND THE JUNGLE*

Education is not an independent process. It cannot be shut within the school yard fence. It is made or unmade by a force that steals in from the Jungle-land of a child's spare time. That force is the combined power of all the things that happen in the spare time, the things of action that grip the childish imagination and the dull things that stifle childish desires.

Men have built schools since there were schools without recognizing this force. They have laid out their hard little molds for soft little minds and have said, "As we force the soft little minds during the school hours so will they stay." Then when the school hours were done and the molds were opened the little minds rushed out into the Jungle-land and clasped dear trees of play and adventure. When a new day came they clung to their trees, and when they were forced away into the hard molds they hated, they kept their habit of clutching their dear jungle trees. The schoolmasters were busy with the molds.

* This chapter is based upon "School Work and Spare Time" by F. G. Bonser.

All the wonders of the Jungle-land, they were lost. They were no "education." The schoolmaster did not go voyaging into the Jungle-land. Why should he follow the little child outside the schoolroom? What the child did out there was not his business. He was busy with the mold. The little minds were "dumb" if they would not go into the mold after the schoolmaster had tinkered with it all he could.

It has taken men a very long time indeed to find out just what place the Jungle-land of spare time has in the education of a child. For a long time they guessed. Now they know. It is the biggest thing that comes in to influence the school progress of the child.

They had long shut school time and spare time in separate compartments. Neither one had been adequately utilized to the advantage of the other. All the fascinating activities of play that might have been accessories to the directed education of the schools had been at best only accidentally good influences. All of the prescribed things of the schools that might have been projected through the lives of the children into their spare time had only occasionally been directed to that end. These two, school time and spare time, that should have been partners, had not fitted. They had not positively quarreled as often as they had been merely indifferent to each other.

In this new day of education we have been on our voyage of discovery. We have found that music, fine arts, reading, physical training, all of which,

studied in the schools, should form an enduring force in the spare time lives of the children, do not "carry on." When these activities have run their prescribed course, they have not gone on of their own force. Children read and read a great deal but they do not read because school reading has led them over fascinating paths into the book-land of history, geography and sciences. The momentum gained in school reading does not carry them along out of school. They have lost something incalculably valuable. They will have no resource of fine reading to draw upon in leisure hours. Somehow the school has failed to chain the natural interests, finding expression in spare time reading, to pull along the directed reading of the school hours.

What is true of reading is true of the others. The music, the fine arts and the natural sciences of the schools have stayed within their school compartments. They have not formed the basis for an intellectual leisure life. Physical training has not been developed as a fundamental interest so that it will form a bulwark against the encroachments of a sedentary adult life. Again there has been too much "lost motion."

In our voyage of discovery into the minds and lives of children we have found some things about the "kinds" of children. We call them "normal, accelerant and backward." We concern ourselves chiefly with what we find about the child called backward. He is the child who has suffered. About him have been enacted the great tragedies of child-

hood. He has been shoved out into darkness by the old, old schoolmaster who called him "dull" and beat him for not learning and then tried to forget him. We discover that he is principally different rather than defective. He is a new field. He needs developing. He loafers more perhaps without purpose; that is the fault of a recreation system that until now has not thought of being a system. On the other hand he shows resources of invention, of original activity and discovery that the bookish child does not always have.

In our voyage of discovery we have found that a big part of education is not in our school rooms, taught solely from our books. We have found that there are potentialities in boys and girls who do not do well in bookish things. Some of our standards of judging have been torn down.

We have among our compensations a new field of discovery. We have annexed our spare time as time for human experimentation. Of course many had used the spare time field as a human laboratory before, but they had never used it with the conscious certainty we now have that what they find there bears so vital a relation to formal education. Now what we find we can take into the schoolroom, sure that it belongs there, just as we can be sure that what we find in the schoolroom may guide us on the playground.

These observations have been made from the findings of the study of "School Work and Spare Time"

in Cleveland. Typical school children to the number of 15,000 were investigated, to get the 500,000 facts from which were drawn the conclusions.

The study was so complete and the findings so conclusive, that the relation of spare time to school work is, to a large extent, taken out of the field of conjecture. No educator from now on can frankly ignore the factor of spare time activity. He is confronted with the almost absolute certainty that if he does not recognize this factor, his work can at best be nothing but a one-sided success.

The findings affect even more the recreation leader. Certainty that spare time activity is so tremendously important to school progress raises his work permanently out of the casual or incidental class. No matter how seriously he has thought of his job heretofore, people at large, even thoughtful people, have too often thought of organized recreation as merely a desirable luxury. If they are informed, they can never think so again. A new dignity of calling has come to the recreation leader, with the new burden of responsibility of seeing that the play he organizes, supplements the work done in school.

This entire study forms a point of departure. In Cleveland, the city is working out a recreation force that will constitute a system. This must go on if the findings of the volume on "School Work and Spare Time" are to be more than academic memoranda. The recreation leader must be given the machinery to work with and support in working if he is to make his job help carry the load of educating the city's children.

The findings on the importance of the relation of spare time to school work must be continually thrown before the people until they recognize not only the necessity of a strong recreation system but the necessity also of keeping the schools to their task of cooperating with spare time activities.

CHAPTER IX

THE WHOLESOME CITIZEN PROCESS*

"Johnny So-and-So is a bad influence." I wonder what boy in a good home spent his boyhood without hearing this admonition many times from parents and older friends. In this warning our parents had grasped a perfectly good negative truth which they were forever putting before us. I wonder how many had the good fortune, however, to have their parents grasp and act as vigorously upon the equally important and more positive truth that is involved in discovering and fostering good influences about children outside of the home.

The study of one hundred and sixty average wholesome citizens in Cleveland discovered some vital facts about good influences and at the same time suggested some good human data that cannot be summed up in the rather formal dress of "facts." Our parents might have spent less time on warnings against "bad influences" and more on attempts to build up good influences through leadership outside the home if they had possessed this scientific data on wholesome citizens and spare time.

* This chapter is based upon "Wholesome Citizens and Spare Time," by John L. Gillin.

The studies of our one hundred and sixty citizens discovered for us that reading is a primary recreational activity in every age, that more active physical habits need to be developed for most people at an early age so that these habits will carry on and combat the sedentary tendencies of later life and that leadership or "influence" away from home is of prime importance. We are brought face to face with a deadline of developing new interests in life that puts a particular emphasis upon the development of proper recreation habits in youth. The study of the one hundred and sixty brought out that few new interests in life are formed after the school-life period.

This central fact of the importance of personal leadership, which is the primary contribution of the volume on "Wholesome Citizens and Spare Time" is illustrated by a story drawn from life in a country field far from the scene of the survey study. The fact is typified in the life and works of a man who a little more than a decade ago was head of the public schools in a small country town. It was a town that had stagnated. Originally settled by a conscientious, thrifty New England stock it once developed a great many ambitious young men and women who enlivened the town life until they grew up and went away. The churches had been the dominant social factors in those days. As in a great many other small towns, these had lost, in some part at least, their dominance by the opening of the twentieth century. At this time the town had practically no leadership and little wholesome social life. Puritan

principles of conduct prevailed as the social standards of the town, barring to a certain extent even dancing and card playing. Athletics lacked leadership; there were no clubs for young people that aroused general interest. As a result of this negative life, on the surface there was a great deal of loafing among the young people and considerable immorality below the surface. The schoolmaster came at this time of stagnation. He first caused a revival of athletics. He had a strong, vigorous body and a good mind and, while not an athlete himself, he saw the possibilities of developing concerted teamwork among the boys in the high school who were athletic. His baseball team was a "winner." The schoolmaster applied his excellent head to the strategy of teamwork and he had the boys about him at every available moment figuring out "plays." While formerly there had been a good deal of "playing catch" among lazy young citizens there now developed a real game. This was not divorced from work. No boy played on the team who was not "passing" in his school work and the schoolmaster saw to it that his eligibility test meant something in the schoolroom. With the development of that team and others in the school, boys who had previously found not the slightest interest in school work, had hated it in fact, found a new interest in study as well as in play. Bad physical habits disappeared, for the schoolmaster was a hard trainer and would have no breaking training. Many of those boys in the schoolmaster's teams, now through college and out in business, are

holding to the habits of care of physique and active exercise that were started during the four years in the small-town school.

Along with athletics went the sort of personal leadership that should always go with spare time direction. A boy who threw a team mate into a tight place in the game to his own advantage was called in and severely reprimanded. The boy was of good stuff and afterwards confessed that he received through that experience the lesson in teamwork that made him a varsity football and baseball man in his later college days.

The schoolmaster's "glee club," was the dominant social factor among the boys after he came to town. The schoolmaster was himself passionately fond of singing and he gathered about him all the boys who could sing at all and spent hours of personal effort in developing an organization that sang together. In developing voices, he was developing boys. On one occasion the club went in a sleighing party several miles to a neighboring town. One boy of known careless habits used indecent language in the presence of girls that were along. Nothing was said about it until the club came together at home for the next practice. Then the schoolmaster walked down in front of the boys, and, avoiding all general moralizing, told them very frankly that if the incident were ever repeated, either he or the offender would get out of the club. The lesson needed no elaboration.

The fine possibilities in very simple recreational facilities were demonstrated in the schoolmaster's

"sings" which took the form of hikes to the small river when the weather would permit. Here a fire was built on the river bank and a steak or meal of bacon was brought out to be cooked. Everyone hustled for wood, the schoolmaster among the rest, and all were boys together in the scramble for food when it was cooked. Here, as in other activities of the school leader, dignity was not flaunted and yet it was not forgotten. The schoolmaster had a very true dignity which he did not have to guard and which no one violated. He was able to enter without reservation into any clean fun and yet throw up around him where needful, a wall of reserve that every boy respected. Along with his "sings" went a great deal of swimming and boating when the season was right. The schoolmaster was himself an inveterate walker and he got many boys into the habit of taking long walks into the beautiful country about.

The miracle of this epic of a small town lies in the effects that followed the stay of the schoolmaster. At the time he left, twenty-two boys from the local high school were going to college. Previously four or five in the same time was a record-breaking number. In place of a gang of young boys hanging about the barber shops and the store fronts, there were boys on two tennis courts that had been built, or boys working on debate, or boys preparing for the band or the male quartette. The life of the village had been revolutionized. Wholesome physical habits had been set for a whole town.

Intellectually the recreation life of the town was infinitely richer. The little school library had been

put on its feet and the schoolmaster had put in technical books and books on travel and biography that satisfied practical desires or broadened the scope of the imagination. A reading class had been organized on the initiative of the schoolmaster and girls as well as boys found this a major activity of winter days. There was no attempt to "moralize" the boys and girls into reading but there was an effort to make reading attractive and this was largely successful.

The tragedy in this particular instance lies in the fact that the schoolmaster left this particular small town and no leadership was put in his place. Many of the townsfolk have confessed since that they did not know what was taking place under the schoolmaster. They had been given no education in the value of leadership and they had not been taught that what had happened in the life of the town was anything but an accident. Instead of the developments of a recreational life carrying on, these were almost completely lost.

This sort of thing cannot be developed without the right personnel. Leadership is after all just personnel. Every experience in community recreation emphasizes that parents, or those who are socially-minded enough to stand in the place of parents, must see that some big, broad-gauged, human system backs up a recreation leader and assures to him and to his associates the sort of support and encouragement they must have.

Of course this instance from the small town does not cover all the problems of the great city. In its

failure to build an organization, in its failure to care for the problem of the girl, it was signally lacking. Yet in its illustration of the potentialities of the leader it has its suggestion for cities of any size.

In the matter of places for recreation the small town illustration can offer little of value to the city. In a great industrial city like Cleveland the ample yards and the nearby country are no longer available to the children of the community who need them the worst. In areas where great yards once were, industrial plants have covered the ground and left scanty space even at the curb lines. This physical fact complicates the problem for the leader. If the leadership secured is of the right quality, there will be a resourcefulness, however, that will make a recreation system of whatever is at hand.

Today, nothing is more evident than the fact that in the problem of building wholesome citizens, leadership outside of the home as well as in, is absolutely necessary. Parents, no matter how willing and even no matter how intelligent, are seldom in a position to give all of the recreation leadership that is needed under complex, modern conditions. A complex industrial life has taken the father into the factory where he cannot have the boy or girl of his family under his eye. In some cases, changing economic conditions have taken the mother also. In a majority of cases in the city, this physical fact of preoccupation with other things is complicated by the fact that many parents are too little trained and too little understanding to function completely in the lives of the growing children.

CHAPTER X

THE COMMUNITY'S STAKE IN THE AMUSEMENT BUSINESS*

The moving picture thriller sets its stamp on youthful minds. The poolroom shapes habits of spare-time activity and companionship. Other commercial amusements do their part in determining the kind of men and women our cities shall produce.

Commercial amusements are more than the business of the man who owns them. Every citizen has an interest in them. His interest is defined not by his patronage but by the patronage of his neighbors. The constructive or destructive influence of the amusement spreads into the community; the man who has an interest in that community has an interest in the amusement.

The "movie" is certainly a community business. The recreation survey volume on "Commercial Recreation" has it that 500,000 people attend the 123 houses in Cleveland in the course of a week. "Moving picture mind" can well become a community mental state. As a destructive or constructive force, it is bound to influence us as a people, our

* This chapter is based upon the volume entitled "Commercial Recreation."

habits of work, our political activities, our family and community habits of living.

The regulation of the movies must come about chiefly through social control. Popular approval or disapproval must be the most effective force in determining the quality of the pictures. It is doubtful if we are politically wise enough to do much regulating through our political machinery. We have gone a certain distance in the matter of state regulation. What we have done in this direction we have done with reasonable success. For the finer shades of discrimination and elimination we will have to trust the more mobile forces of popular feeling.

The good principle of democracy of "leaving it to the people" will have to be trusted. No reformer's panacea which would take the movie-going public and lift it by the scruff of its neck to a reformer-determined elevated plane can be applied to an industry for which the people pay and from which they require a maximum of amusement.

The regulation of "what and why" in the neighborhood theaters will have to be left to the business sense of the producer and to the mothers' and neighborhood clubs. These clubs have great possibilities if taken advantage of in determining what shall go on the screen, particularly the neighborhood screen. The protest of a mother to a Cleveland newspaper recently against the profanation of "Treasure Island" in order to give it a sex theme is to the point. The protest through the editorial columns probably did some good. More effectively the mother might

have organized all the women's clubs to protest against this profanation and she might have gone farther; she might have organized a collective demand for real portrayals of such stories as the Stevenson masterpiece, of which there are altogether too few.

Organization of the moving picture exhibitors of the city has not gone nearly as far as good business alone warrants. All of the exhibitors have not as yet seemed to sense the fact that it is good business to be "good." They have not given credit enough to the love of the beautiful and ideal that exists in the hearts of the majority of the people.

To see and know the small pool rooms of the city is to have a philosophy of community control and regulation. The murky atmosphere of the poorer places, the sense that the lowest and vilest is being thought and talked, the loafers inevitably about, the general character of the older men who frequent these places, establish for a certainty that the community which permits such places in which its boys acquire their spare-time habits will surely pay in years to come.

The recreation survey established for a certainty that influences stronger than atmosphere must work in these places. By practical mathematical demonstration it shows that the poorer places cannot exist without gambling or some "on the side" line such as candy or cigars. Either the proprietor has to run a gambling place or he has to give his time to some small business rather than to proper supervision.

Old blue-law devotees would give the whole pool-room system the "thumbs down." Modernists know that this is no proper treatment of the problem of regulation of the pool rooms. The game is wholesome and the desire to play it natural.

The way out of this social problem is shown in the better places that exist in Cleveland almost neighbor to the poorest. Large, well-lighted, well-decorated places they are, good places for any man to spend his spare time.

"Good business" is at work to secure high-grade pool rooms. A large group of promoters of the game in Cleveland have recognized that decency in the pool rooms is good business. They are behind the movement to put the small, improperly conducted pool room under adequate control or put it out of business.

The dance hall has not presented so difficult a problem since the passage of the ordinance of 1911. At present, however, certain abuses that have thriven in accompaniment to the dance hall are still thriving in Cleveland. Soliciting prostitution on the floors of dance halls is the chief of these. Picking up girls for automobile parties which end in immoral practices is hardly to be differentiated from the more direct soliciting. More adequate chaperonage and more adequate policing are demanded as cures for these evils.

"Blue law" rules regulating "meeting" acquaintances of the other sex on the dance floor cannot be enforced under modern city conditions. "Asking for

the dance" seems to be an accepted form of being introduced on the city dance hall floor. It is doubtful if this apparent laxness constitutes an evil. It is probably quite the contrary. The vicissitudes of modern city life have developed a power in city girls of looking after themselves far beyond that of their country cousins or even of city girls of a generation ago.

Certain things are required in the administration of the dance hall ordinance if it is to be most effective. There must be non-partisanship in the appointment of the inspector and he or she must have adequate cooperation from the police in the enforcement of such regulatory powers as fall under the dance hall inspector's jurisdiction. Great care should be exercised in granting of the licenses. This is the chief source of the inspector's power and it must be used effectively. Proof of the character of the applicant for a license and of his ability to maintain satisfactory social and physical conditions should be given. The hall itself should be the primary consideration upon which a license is issued.

Behind the scenes of the average Clevelander's life which takes him from a residence district to a down-town office, commercial or industrial district, and back each day, are the coffee houses which are the chief places of recreation of the adult foreign born. Probably fifty places in Cleveland combine those features of restaurant or confectionery and dance hall and club which entitle them to be called coffee houses.

Greek or Hungarian, these coffee houses are little sections of the life of the old country set down in Cleveland. In them the foreign born can sit with his friends throughout the evening spending little money for refreshment and with plenty of chance to take part in the dancing or music if he chooses. A few of the places are somewhat sumptuous, suggesting the private club with all kinds of eating and entertainment features. Most of them, however, are just "hang-outs" for tired and lonely foreign born men who want warmth, light, music and companionship and for whom the city has made no provision.

About all of these places there is an air of democracy that is pleasing. Perhaps the priest from a Greek church sits at the table with his people, if the house is one of the better ones of good repute. There is dancing mostly by the men themselves who get up from the tables to do intricate steps for which they are generously applauded. No one is a "cheap skat" if he sits long and buys little. Real emphasis seems to be put upon the genuine hospitality of the place.

All this is the good side of the coffee houses. It is a side to remember. The foreign born in the city need places like these. Many of them are single and they require social places where they can go and enjoy companionship. The coffee house is another thing that a city cannot afford to reform out of existence.

The bad side of the coffee houses has appeared quite generally. Casual prostitution has become the

regular function of the "waitresses" in these places. This prostitution goes on quite unregulated and to such an extent unchecked which will bring the coffee house to the point of becoming a source of moral depravity and physical peril. The regulation of this evil is directly within the province of the police and it is to the police the public must look to see that the coffee house is controlled before it has become a greater public nuisance and menace than it is at present. An effective policing of these places needs supplementing by some kind of licensing ordinance which would put the coffee house under a regular legal permit to operate and would provide a means of public control of personnel and method of operation.

Most important of all the outdoor commercial amusement facilities of Cleveland in the summertime are Luna and Euclid Beach parks and the American League baseball games. All of them are too familiar to Clevelanders to demand any description.

In the contrast between Luna Park and Euclid Beach, however, is suggested a new appraisal of American standards of recreation. Euclid Beach is distinctly of and for Americans born in this country of American-born parents. It is mostly these people who live in the parts of the city surrounding Euclid Beach and it is for them that Euclid Beach amusements are planned. The park has more sober and simple amusement features than those of Luna Park. There is more quiet and spaciousness, more room to

enjoy the out-of-doors than about Luna. The park has the standards of conduct that have grown up with several generations of native-born Americans.

Small part of the success of Euclid Beach park is due to the patronage of the typical foreign-born industrial worker who is a regular and enthusiastic patron of the more rapid-moving amusement features of Luna. In this contrast of the kinds of amusement that are required by the foreign and the native born is an enlightening commentary on the differences in the employments of their working hours, which make necessary different methods of relaxation and "re-creation."

Commercial recreation is a public service. It molds the thinking of us all. The kind and quality of it will determine the kind of citizenship. A sound and disciplined citizenship cannot be built under the influence of wrongly suggestive amusements.

CHAPTER XI

THE MIDDLE GROUND OF PRIVATE RECREATION*

Private recreation does not have the definite limitations of public and commercial recreation. It is supported from private funds and its activities can largely be directed to follow any program laid out.

Commercial recreation is always up against the necessity of making money. That is its reason for being. By reason of its self-supporting nature it can carry on specialized activities on a large scale in a way that is not possible for public or private recreation. In the field of the moving picture, the amusement park and certain kinds of game and play halls it seems today to have a well-defined field where money can be made and at the same time a wholesome public demand satisfied. The future may see some of these things under public control; for the present they can be considered in a well-defined commercial field.

Public recreation is limited by the fact that it is paid for out of public money. It has the strengths and weaknesses of our present municipal govern-

* This chapter is based upon the volume entitled "The Sphere of Private Agencies."

ments. It is distinctly political in that it must follow the dictates of popular approval. It is often the football of politicians who use achievements in the recreation field as political "selling talk." Consequently it is apparently kept from attempting any recreation that is anything but wholesale and spectacular. Obscure leadership or scientific experimentation in the field of recreation are apparently not for it at present.

Thus by indirection we arrive at the field of private recreation. It is "in between." It has all of the field of obscure experimentation; by it is done the pioneering with peculiar or handicapped groups. The intimate, particular leadership of individuals in recreation is the other function that seems at present to belong definitely in the imperfectly defined field of private recreation.

This imperfectly defined scope of activity left to private recreation gives a great deal of liberty. Executives of private recreation organizations have the opportunity to plan programs and carry them out to a large extent at will. In this liberty private recreation has found its weakness. It has wandered about in its activities without locating a goal and pointing everything in that direction. It has failed to cover all its field because all parts of it have not pulled together. Thus in Cleveland it has failed to perform a considerable part of its leadership function. Much of the misdirected spare time life of the boys who get into trouble through vagrancy on the vacant lots and in the gullies could be turned into a construc-

tive force instead of a destructive one if the splendid individual pieces of private recreation in Cleveland were organized to cooperate and cover completely the local field. The private recreation program planned for Cleveland should secure this necessary cooperation.

Perhaps the best known of all private recreation agencies is the settlement. It has been the first "Americanizer." It applied the principles of constructive Americanization when that word was not a slogan for the politician and the popular demagogue. It pioneered in combating juvenile delinquency with a personal leadership that was built on a study of and reverence for the personality of the individual. Recreation was the most effective weapon in this particular fight. The settlement has always been in a peculiarly strategic position for the reason that its very reason for being is its location in the neighborhood as a part of the neighborhood life.

There has been little in a recreation way that the settlement has not attempted. It has been compelled to dabble in everything the people who came to it legitimately desired. It has had no rules for its recreation as for anything else. It is essentially human, a human institution, and no cut-and-dried program can be set for it any more than such programs can be set for groups of humans.

But there seems a peculiar niche which settlements in Cleveland and elsewhere should fill and which they are to a large extent filling. They are peculiarly capable of a sympathetic, intimate leadership which

is not within the reach of the public recreation agency. Their personnel is ideally such that it can "carry-on" in the play life of the individual, night or day, in the settlement or back into the home. This very function of the settlement is giving it a new place in the recreational life of the community. Instead of all its life centering about the house of the settlement, the trained leadership of the organization is going out into the highways and byways of the community and taking charge and directing activities in connection with public equipment for recreation.

The church, unlike the settlement, is not trade marked as a recreational agency. Any conception of a recreational function of the church has come comparatively recently. It has come in on the tide of reaction from the extreme dogma of the puritanical preacher who discouraged the smile and suspected the manifestations of happiness as works of the devil. It has swept the pendulum from the narrow conception of the church's function in the community to a conception which if not broad is not anything.

Yet possibly in this broadness toward recreation some churches have overstepped themselves. The survey arrives at such a conclusion. A definition of the church's function brings us back to the thought of it as ministering to the family and that ministration being a religious one. Just what we mean by "religious" we might define vaguely as that quality of the church which aids a man to carry out the spirit of the text which we remember, "I will lift up mine eyes to the hills from whence cometh my help."

In the old days the church concentrated on this inspirational function and it perhaps concentrated "the joy out of life." There is no danger of that today in our great city church institutions which it is now and then hard to differentiate from merely great lecture halls and gymnasiums of secular amusement. Certainly no modernist of religious thought would descry the diffuseness of the expression in some cases which tends to obscure and lose the essential primary service of the church in the religious life of the family within its doors. The survey points out that all the modern church needs to do is to limit its vehicle of expression to those activities which serve its family and which are at the same time within its reach. It doubts if to any great extent the church can go into the field of complicated recreation such as the gymnasium. In order to serve the family and at the same time run its gymnasium the church would have to maintain a great and complicated staff and equipment calculated to serve every group in the family. Studies in Cleveland seem to indicate that few churches are able to do this. This conclusion does not drive the church back to the old dour days of no recreational activities. It leaves open to every church activities which it is peculiarly fitted to promote and which it is too little developing today, those such as family parties, picnics, clubs and forums which naturally center about and strengthen the family group.

Sometimes lately we have been so busy "Americanizing" that we have forgotten a great private rec-

reational feature of the city's life, the foreign clubs. The club and the religious festival have gone together in keeping the foreigner happy within our gates. Some things about these nationalist features we may wish different; we wish that they never impeded the process of assimilation. But in the long run the clubs have given the new American something we could not give him. At any rate we have to recognize them as a great recreational force, for good or evil.

In the survey report on private recreation, there is a vivid picture of a bit of what the new American finds in his group club that he does not find in typically American recreation. The artistic viewpoint of the new American toward his recreation is pointed out. He wishes to preserve the romance, the freeness of it, in a word, he objects to the American idea of paying for recreation. That destroys its flavor for him. This bit of psychology suggests all the differences, the peculiar picturesquenesses, in many cases the richnesses, that are part of the distinctive life of the clubs of the foreign groups. It is worth while in connection with a discussion of the recreational value of these clubs to make a plea for toleration and even encouragement of the expressions of the new American. We think at once of the color and richness our own recreational life can take from the religious and athletic festivals and pageants of the new-American groups.

It takes a quick turn of mind to go from this exotic of the city's recreation agencies to that distinctly American, or certainly distinctly Anglo-Saxon

organization, the Boy Scouts. The thing about this organization, which embraces 3,000 boys in Cleveland, that interests us from the standpoint of the future recreation is, perhaps, not its boys at all, but its leaders. Again and again in the findings of the survey a demand is made for the development of more lay leadership. This Boy Scout movement in Cleveland, as elsewhere, has been a great power in drawing out this lay leadership. It is from ordinary business and from the professions that the scout leaders are drawn. While many of these leaders may not be sufficiently trained technically, yet what they contribute of fresh viewpoint and stimulating thought and interest overbalances even the handicap of undertraining. Higher standards of leadership which the scout directors are even now seeking to inculcate will in practice make of the Scout organization an almost ideal one.

The Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. have weathered a great many criticisms directed at their politics of operation and direction but the fact that they have endured in increasing strength indicates that they have sound roots in human need. The survey points out, however, that their expanding service will lie among young people of predominantly Protestant faith. Among these there are in Cleveland four times as many young people as the already large associations have been able to serve.

CHAPTER XII

RECREATION AS A PUBLIC SERVICE*

Any discussion of public provision for recreation is certain to be full of new conceptions. The whole idea that recreation is a public concern is so new that it has not fully taken hold in the public consciousness. We are alert to the necessity for directed recreation as a means of counteracting tendencies to delinquency but on the positive side very few people have a conception of the possibilities of public recreation in building up manhood and womanhood.

In Cleveland we have accepted present park and playground facilities as usual municipal undertakings without having any particular standard for judging the usefulness of these institutions. We have taken the face value attractiveness of green parks without scrutinizing what the scope of function of those parks should be or how completely or incompletely they are functioning. This may be due to the fact that we do not know much about directed play as a social force or have not stopped to think seriously about it.

Quite naturally, we have accepted "play as play." "Analyze it, direct it, lead it? Why a boy or girl

* This chapter is based upon "Public Provision for Recreation" by Rowland Haynes and Stanley P. Davies.

just plays, that's all. There isn't anything to make a fuss about." Quite in keeping with that attitude of mind we think of the public recreation institutions, parks, playgrounds, libraries, etc., as just "places." We feel that the playgrounds have quite performed their function by being there, open places where children can play in the midst of crowded streets that leave no openings. Leaders we may think of as individuals necessary to prevent the children from carrying off the fences and having free-for-all fights. Further than that, perhaps, we have not gone.

So much in introduction for those of us who have not had time or opportunity to think the problem of public provision for play clear through to the end. We should realize that recreation places at their best, an ideal not attained in Cleveland, are only points of departure for the ultimate goal of public recreation that will do its part in making the boy and girl, crowded and thwarted by the city, a whole man and a whole woman.

Judging them only as "places" we must be aware of the inadequacy of many of the playgrounds in Cleveland which are little more than bare spots. Equipment has greatly suffered because of depleted treasury in school and municipality. These grounds do not offer a very great contrast in many cases to the vacant lots and dirty streets that lie next door. Cleveland just now has need for improvement of these play places of which school and city government are aware. The survey recommends ten year-round playgrounds to be added to the present sum-

mer playgrounds and two additional playgrounds in the most congested areas.

Yet the most real need of Cleveland's playgrounds just now is more leaders and better leaders. Here is where our new conception of modern play has to come into being if we are going to understand this need for leadership. We must abandon our ideas of children as dynamos of spontaneous play energy which only ask any kind of space in order to become free and expressive. First, we must remember that in the city injurious forces of under-nourishment and ill-health, twin malefactors of the tenements, have misdirected childish energy and deadened childish spontaneity. The vices, some dull and time-wasting, others active and dangerously time-spending, have set up definite competition for the time and attention of the city children clear up through to manhood. National peculiarities that have not been adjusted to America and that find no expression of their own along the brick-paved city ways have reduced spontaneity. With these forces at work the "places" are not likely to become inactive. Street, vacant lot, playground, all will draw some crowd of youngsters, a few for innocent games, many for shooting craps, plotting vicious mischief and fighting. Able and conscientious leadership alone will turn these playgrounds into a constructive force.

The leaders must be great generals of children. Theirs is the job of giving the dynamic and the direction to childish activity. Perhaps some day in Cleveland the leaders will have the aid of trees and

gardens that will give the children their full heritage of God's Great Out-of-Doors as a place in which to play. Every moment of the playground time must be full of things to do. These things to do offer the great test of real leadership. They must be things the child likes to do and at the same time they must be things that further some constructive purpose born of the leader's ideals and training.

The survey believes and recommends that all this leadership as well as the play places for the children should be under the school's control instead of being divided as at present between school and city government. This recommendation is in keeping with a Cleveland educational doctrine, namely, that play is a proper part of the educational process.

Now if we have this new conception of directed play, of the necessity of the leader and his job, we will throw our force and interest to see that we have this leader, a big man or woman, able to perform the task. We must make the question "political" in our city and our schools, not political in a mean sense, but political in the sense that we are interested enough to see that the question of play leadership is thrown out where public agitation and public vote will authorize the securing and the paying of the play leaders who can really do the job. Then, maybe, when we have done our civic task we will have playgrounds properly directed to take care of the 50,855 children who should use the playgrounds daily rather than the 4,233 who use them now.

Most of us should have a new conception of our

parks. We need a civic consciousness toward them that is not satisfied by riding through them in an automobile and pointing them out as beauty spots to visitors. We need to think of them as servants of the nearly 1,000,000 people in and about Cleveland. When we come to view them thus we will see certain needs which the survey has made it a part of its business to point out.

In the light of our new conception we realize that our parks are too inaccessible, that with the exception of Gordon Park, possibly part of Rockefeller Park and Kingsbury Run our great parks and our parkways are not convenient to the people who need the grass and the out-of-doors most. Dinner parties on the grass, people playing ball, children on the grass everywhere, games of tag, a cosmopolitan representation on the park green—these things are the things that our civic "Booster" pamphlets should picture with pride. We have set too much store by chaste vistas of beautiful tree-shaded sward, uncolored except by the passage of a limousine and the glimpse of a beautiful house on the park edge. These aesthetic purposes are in a measure all right but they are only a small part. They do not serve the great social-civic motive of taking the park to the people everywhere.

More leadership should be a part of our park scheme. Summer and winter, for swimming, boating, giving pageants and playing ball, skating and sliding, the trained leader is needed in the park as in the playground. He is the man who must conceive

and see to the proper carrying out of great city pageants and carnivals that draw in all the human forces of every part of the city. The greatness of this task is one of the things that led to the recommendation of the survey that the carrying out of a program of leadership in the parks is sufficient for the recreation department of the city without adding to it the burden of directing playgrounds.

"Recreation in the bath houses"—with these words many of us pass on to a new conception of recreation indeed. Baths to many of us are a custom, a habit, a duty, certainly not a thing that we think of as a recreational feature of our personal program. But along the crowded alleys and in the stifling smells from cooking food and living quarters, too much lived in, "bath" alone has a new meaning. It is not only a physical necessity to anything approaching health but it is also a recreational joy to many—made doubly so by its inaccessibility in bathless shacks and tenements. But the best bath houses in Cleveland have reached out to become much more than mere bathing places and here is where the essentially recreational feature of the bath house comes in. The gymnasium and the tumbling room have a proper place next to the shower room and they are coming to take that place. This function of the bath house has been somewhat developed in every Cleveland bath house. It is capable of much further development and has been developed in one bath house at least to make of that place a sort of community center. The survey recommends to one bath house

that it go on to acquire land adjoining as room for a community playground.

"School gardening as a recreation"—this goes on to give another jolt to those of us who, country-bred, were cajoled, pled with, driven to the hated task of hoeing in the garden. This alchemy of people crowding into small spaces that we call the city, has again wrought magic, perhaps black magic, but magic at any rate in the minds and bodies of children, until students of social conditions dare speak with authority of school gardening as a recreation. They say it satisfies the child instinct for "nurture." The alchemy that has made the child like this gardening enough to warrant our calling it recreation lies in the fact that city life has to a great extent cut off access to growing things, an open pathway to every country boy.

Anyhow, lately, particularly with the war, school gardening has leaped into a great recreational place. Recreational but yet of great actual value for by means of it products worth \$92,918 were produced in Cleveland in 1918. The survey hopes that great measures will be taken to see that this wonderful development is not lost now that the war has passed. Certainly nothing can stop the movement for gardening that vegetated in every back yard during the war years.

The community center is a public recreation activity that takes us into a field slightly different from any we have so far considered. The community center first, perhaps, grew out of the thought that the

people should realize a much larger return on their investment in the school plant. In a sense it is just another recognition that recreation is an angle of what we formally call "education" and that the educational machinery should be utilized to promote this recreation.

The community centers have sprung up over the city. Different policies have been tried, some centers could be pronounced successes, some failures, from the standpoint of utility. Everywhere, however, the community centers have fed and fostered one instinct of incalculable social value in the life of the city. The people have felt quite properly that the community center belongs to them, that in accepting the boon of the center activities, they were in no sense taking charity. This is a step toward the ultimate goal of all social work, the carrying on of the work by the people for the people. But one handicap has to a great measure vitiated a great deal of community center work. The schools of Cleveland have been too impoverished to adequately finance community centers everywhere. This general experience of the city leads the survey to recommend that a few centers be set up as demonstration activities and that for the rest spontaneity of interest be trusted to initiate and maintain such activities as the people of the community can afford.

It is no far cry from the experience of all of us to think of libraries as recreation centers. Most of us have not thought of reading in connection with libraries as much other than recreation. But a great

public library system presents a spectacle of positive recreation that is beyond our ordinary experience. The library has learned to reach out, to make people love books by throwing books and reading attractively before them. The reading club of the library under excellent leadership has proved that the library has drawing power that will make readers of many in the generations to come. The child and the grown person are initiated into reading by attractively advertised books and story-telling hours which have a contagion for people everywhere.

No few words can tell the story of the responsibility of the public toward its recreation. It might be summed up this way—the government of the city is ours, the people of our city are ours, we must make our government serve the need of its people for recreation on a wholesale scale.

PART III THE PROGRAM

CHAPTER XIII

A COMMUNITY RECREATION PROGRAM FOR CLEVELAND

I. THE JOB TO BE DONE

No architect sits down to plan a big public building or industrial plant, no traction manager attempts to work out a traffic plan for a city, without knowing as fully as possible what and how big is the job to be done. The following section sketches the recreation task for all agencies in Cleveland.

TABLE I.—ESTIMATED DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL RECREATION HOURS IN CLEVELAND BY AGE GROUPS AND BETWEEN HOME AND AWAY FROM HOME

Age	No. of persons	Average hours per week	Total recreation hours per week	Est. per cent away from home	Est. hours away from home
5 to 15	175,708	34	5,974,072	50%	2,987,036
16 to 25	160,000	24	3,840,000	60%	2,304,000
Over 25	376,758	16	6,028,128	25%	1,507,032
Totals	712,466*		15,842,200		6,798,068

* The 1920 census gives the population of Cleveland as 796,836. The estimated total here given omits children under five years of age.

The accompanying tables show the estimated amount of play and recreation time to be cared for each week. The figures are estimates based on averages of time available for play and recreation purposes in different age groups.

The following table shows the estimated distribution of the recreation hours per week, which are spent away from home or not under self-direction, which can be expected of a fully developed recreation system. The estimates are classified as to the amount of work to be done by each of the four main types of recreation agencies and also classified by age groups.

TABLE II.—ESTIMATED DISTRIBUTION OF AWAY FROM HOME RECREATION HOURS BETWEEN DIFFERENT TYPES OF AGENCIES BY AGE GROUPS

Age	Public agencies. Per cent Number	Private philan- thropic agen- cies. Per cent Number	Coopera- tive agen- cies. Per cent Number	Commer- cial agen- cies. Per cent Number	Total. Per cent Number
5 to 15	76.5% 2,285,083	11.7% 349,483	5.9% 176,235	5.9% 176,235	100.0% 2,987,036
16 to 25	20.8% 479,232	7% 161,280	34.7% 799,488	37.5% 864,000	100.0% 2,304,000
Over 25	12.5% 188,379	12.5% 188,379	50% 753,516	25% 376,758	100.0% 1,507,032
Totals by Agencies	43.4% 2,952,964	10.3% 699,142	25.4% 1,729,239	20.9% 1,416,993	100% 6,798,068

Studying these two tables, certain facts are worthy of notice. In the first place, it should be noted that of the approximately fifteen and one-half million hours per week, over nine million or about 60 per cent, will be spent without reference to any specific agency.

These are the hours spent under the direction of the individual himself or, in the case of children, under the direction of the home. This figure should be larger to represent the facts with complete accuracy, since much of the time spent in public and commercial agencies by adults is really spent under self-direction. This simply emphasizes the fact, which should never be forgotten, of the importance of home and individual direction of play and recreation. Nearly two-thirds of the problem will never be handled by any type of agency, either public, philanthropic, cooperative or commercial but by the individual and by the home.

On the other hand, it is evident that the task which is left in the away-from-home problem, namely, over six and one-half million hours per week, is enough to tax every type of agency of the city. No program which thinks only of school playgrounds or confines its attention to the activities of a single philanthropic agency, important as that may be, can claim to be a comprehensive program. The best work of every agency is needed, if the work is to be adequately done.

Studying Table II, two or three facts at once impress the observer. First, that the largest part of the away-from-home task for any one type of agency falls to the public agencies and that this is chiefly due to the problem of handling those children of school age who require some help from a public system. The work of the public agencies is 43.4% of the entire task. The problem for the children is slightly over

one-third of the entire task, considering all types of agencies, and over three-quarters of the problem which is assigned to the public agencies themselves.

The next largest task falls to cooperative, self-supporting agencies, such as clubs, lodges, cooperative activities among industrial workers, cosmopolitan clubs, and the like. Their work is primarily with adults. Even many of the activities carried on in school community centers and in the athletic organizations of the parks are, or should be, cooperative, self-supported by those using them. With that part of the population which is over fifteen years of age, the cooperative agencies will handle, it is estimated, more hours than the commercial agencies and over twice as much as falls to the lot of public agencies. It should be remembered, however, that this will be true only when the cooperative recreation and the special activities among the industrial workers are organized somewhere near the limit of their possibilities.

Commercial agencies, it is estimated, can and will handle over 20 per cent of the entire problem. With a task before public tax-supported agencies and before philanthropic organizations as large as it is, the assistance of commercial recreation of the right type is a tremendous asset.

Philanthropic agencies can be expected to handle only about 10 per cent of the entire problem. This is, however, a very important part of the task. It points to the necessity of having the private philanthropic agencies select their field so as to do the

specialized forms of leadership, and with carefully selected groups, which the other types of agencies cannot handle.

II. SPECIAL PROGRAM FOR PUBLIC AGENCIES IN LIGHT OF THE JOB TO BE DONE

Since in number of hours covered the task of public agencies is the largest part of the away-from-home recreation job, it is necessary to sketch more in detail just what is needed in the way of space and leadership to do this task. It should be remembered that all of this program cannot be accomplished at once, hence the adequate program will be followed by a shorter program for immediate action.

An Adequate Program.—As has been pointed out, the biggest part of the task before the public agencies is to look out for the play time of children of school age. It would be impossible to handle, for many years to come, two and a quarter million hours per week on the city's playgrounds. A more extensive method must be developed, through the use of vacant lots and safe streets. As near as we can estimate, of the 175,708 children between 5 and 15 years of age, listed in the 1919 school census, about 54,700 would require an average of 13 hours per week on some public playground. The figure 54,700 is arrived at by finding the number of children who cannot play on vacant lots as shown by the studies of vacant lot space available in different types of building development. This would mean that we should handle 711,100 hours per week or about one-third of the

total playground problem on special school and city playgrounds. The remaining two-thirds would be handled on vacant lots and safe streets.

To handle 54,700 children and 711,100 hours per week on playgrounds would require a minimum of 109.4 acres of public playgrounds. We need, in short, 109.4 acres of public playground to handle those children who cannot play on vacant lots at present available. The city now owns 97.4 acres in its school playgrounds and 28.6 acres in its city or park playgrounds, a total of 126 acres. In other words, the city already owns 14 per cent more than the rock bottom minimum space needed to handle the children who at present cannot play on vacant lots. The city needs at once more space in larger parcels for neighborhood athletic fields, since much of the space which the city owns for playground purposes is in parcels too small for the larger space games of even children of school age. For future needs, the city requires in new school grounds space enough to keep up with the growing population demands for additional space. In the line of facilities, the city is better provided in the way of space than in the way of equipment. Many grounds require surfacing and equipment to bring them into capacity use even with adequate leadership.

To handle this number of children on public playgrounds would require 285 leaders with 209 additional leaders to help in the use of vacant lots. These leaders would not be required on full time basis, since during the school period these play leaders would

be used only two or three hours per day, with the exception of Saturdays.

The public program for those between 16 and 25 years of age and those over 25 years of age can best be treated together. The total number of hours per week to be handled in these two groups in public agencies is 667,611. The largest proportion of this work will be done by the Park Department. The indoor community centers, which are directly subsidized and controlled by the city, would handle only about 67,375 hours per week.

To handle this work of indoor community centers, as based upon the present and expected attendance, would require 11 subsidized centers or about one out of every ten of community centers eventually needed. The city already owns in its school property buildings which would be available for these 11 centers, with certain structural changes necessary in some of them.

It would require about 55 leaders to handle these 11 centers, with 2 additional organizing leaders to each or 22 more leaders, a total of 77. These 22 additional leaders would be used in doing organizing work among other community centers so that the lessons learned from the subsidized demonstration centers might be put into use among the self-supporting, cooperative centers.

When we come to the type of leadership required on the parks for the handling of its very large per cent of this problem, we see that it is an entirely different type of leadership. To handle 600,000 hours per week of adult recreation on the parks requires the

very widest use for athletics, baseball, bathing, skating and all sorts of mass uses in the form of concerts, pageants, and similar community activities. It requires not a staff of leaders for each park but a small corps of special leaders for different types of activities, these leaders chiefly to organize different groups ready to use the parks.

Studying this program as a whole, we see the need of some change in the administration of the park and school recreation playground activities. Each has a tremendous task. The Park Department needs to handle 600,000 hours per week in adult uses of the parks, under their organizing direction. To this must be added at least 500,000 hours per week handled by cooperative agencies which use the parks, furnishing their own leadership and direction but needing help in seeing that the facilities are available for their use. To this amount also must be added one million hours per week of the home-directed recreation of adults and the play of children where they have no leadership except that furnished by parents and friends. This makes a total of 2,100,000 hours per week to be handled by the park system in its recreation work alone. On the school side we have over 750,000 hours per week to be handled under careful supervision, that is about 67,000 hours handled by the supervised community centers and over 700,000 hours handled on supervised playgrounds. In addition, the school department has about 1,500,000 hours of playground work to be handled through

the use of vacant lots and school centers under their general direction. In other words, we have a problem of over 2,300,000 hours per week for the school department to handle.

With over two million hours per week allotted to the Park Department and another two million hours and more allotted to the school department to handle, it is absolutely necessary that there should be no duplication but that each department should specialize on the type of work which it can do best. Adult uses of parks, athletics in parks, large mass uses of parks cannot be handled by the School Board. The supervisor of recreation in the Park Department has a man-sized job in directing, organizing and promoting this side of the work. He should not be encumbered with the task of duplicating the Board of Education's playground system, with the requirement of training classes for workers, selection of workers, and the development of playground programs. All of the work for playgrounds and the supervision of the activities of the children of school age should be centralized in the hands of the Board of Education. Such division of administrative specialization will be possible on the part of both the Park Department and the School Board and it will make possible a well-directed, all-round program for recreation in Cleveland.

An Immediate Program.—It was pointed out at the beginning of this chapter that the complete and adequate program for any one of these types of agencies could not be reached at once. Let us summarize here

the part of the program for public agencies, which should be attempted at once. This immediate program should include:

1. Ten year-round playgrounds, plus the present summer playgrounds.
2. Twelve additional leaders to visit neighborhoods once a week and use the vacant lots and safe streets.
3. Four partially subsidized demonstration community centers, where public funds meet whatever cannot be secured from cooperative agencies in these four centers, in order to show what a fully-equipped and widely-used center can produce.
4. In addition, there should be provided funds for at least the expenses of janitor service, heat and light in six other centers, where the leadership expenses are met by local cooperative or philanthropic agencies. There should be also eight organizers, two for each of the four demonstration centers, to help organize similar activities on an entirely self-supporting basis in different neighborhoods not covered by these demonstration centers.
5. The development of adult uses of parks through a staff of five leaders to develop athletics, pageants, holiday celebrations and the like.
6. Centralization of the administration of all playgrounds for children of school age in the Board of Education.

III. A WHOLE COMMUNITY PROGRAM IN LIGHT OF THE JOB TO BE DONE

The recreation program to do this entire job in Cleveland has the following specific tasks:

1. The securing of an adequate playground system under the Board of Education able to care for all play of children under 16 years of age which cannot be handled under home direction.

To do this will require eventually from fifteen to twenty times as much money for maintenance as is now appropriated. There are two methods of securing this result, both of which will have to be used,—one is to secure additional funds for the Board of Education's playgrounds, probably by additional legislation, and the other is to help the Board of Education conduct experiments, such as were suggested by volume II of this survey, to see how the regular curriculum subjects, which can affect spare time, such as reading, physical training, music, manual training and the like, but which are not now largely affecting spare time, may be taught so that they will affect spare time widely and thus make necessary a less expensive playground and recreation system under the Board of Education.

2. The development by the Park Department of mass uses of the parks and of opportunities for athletics for those beyond school age.

Cleveland has been noted for its community spirit. The only way Cleveland can keep this community spirit as it grows larger and more unwieldy is for large masses of Cleveland people to be interested in

the same thing, to do the same things together, to see each other together frequently. The celebration of holidays, pageants and carnivals gives opportunities for these common activities. The parks and the auditorium, when finished, are the only places where these mass gatherings can take place. The Park Department is the only department able to lead them.

The growth of sedentary recreation habits was emphasized in volume III of this survey and the effects in physical deterioration and loss of resistive power to disease were pointed out. In the crusade for active recreation the parks must take a leading place in furnishing outdoor opportunities. Hence their task in developing athletics among those beyond school age which means not only leadership but also the acquirement of "neighborhood" parks and athletic fields.

3. The development of a metropolitan park system including recreation as well as commercial treatment of the lake front, acquiring forest preserves throughout the country and the building up of radial highways to make these out-of-the-city park, picnic and camping places accessible.

Cleveland has made a beginning of using the lake front but only a beginning. Chicago has gone much further in Lincoln Park, Grant Park, Jackson Park and its newly planned Lake Front Park with combined commercial and recreation treatment. The lake provides not only a wonderful scenic asset but also gives, with proper handling, opportunities for water sports.

Fortunately Cleveland has also made a beginning in developing a plan of forest preserves and boulevards throughout the country. The automobile has completely changed our park plans from those of thirty years ago. Central Park in New York, once largely used by the few wealthy people who could keep carriages and horses in the city, represents what a park system arrived at in the 1880's. The automobile has immensely widened the radius of travel. Many more people own cars now than owned horses in the last generation. Places for day picnics, camping and rides into the country are essential to any modern park system.

4. The development of recreation by private agencies, both philanthropic and cooperative, on a coordinated plan.

Central demands on each type of agency have been sketched,—churches to promote home recreation, Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. and similar organizations to care for special age groups, settlements to furnish personal leadership to prevent delinquency and to invent new adaptation of age old games suitable to city conditions, cosmopolitan clubs to preserve the contributions of foreign born peoples to the city's recreation life, special cooperative clubs to promote special forms of recreation along dramatic, musical and art lines, athletic and sports clubs to lead the crusade against sit-still recreation,—these are the broad outlines of the plan for private agencies. Each agency needs to plan its own program within this

general plan in order to contribute most to the spare time life of the city.

5. The development of spare time activities among industrial workers.

America stands foremost in working out methods of quantity production by division of labor. But division of labor means that each worker does only a very simple thing over and over again. This means cramping the worker. Self-expression is impossible except for a very small part of the worker's ability and interest. Spare time activities must fill up the gap and bring self-expression. Industrial engineering has made great strides in the last twenty years in dividing tasks, time studies and routing work. A new side of industrial engineering is just beginning to emerge. It has to do with the effects of after-work activities on production during work hours and all the problems of handling and developing workers as well as the problems of handling machines and developing mechanical processes already treated by industrial engineering.

6. The development of a system for training playground and recreation leaders and of the newer type of industrial engineers. The School of Education will naturally train playground and recreation center workers for tax-supported agencies, since it is itself tax-supported. The University has a chance to develop courses for welfare workers in industry and the new type of industrial engineers.

7. The unification of the license-granting and in-

spection bureaus handling the relation of the city to commercial agencies.

8. The building up of a promotion body, closely affiliated with public agencies and the Welfare Federation, to see that this program is pushed all along the line. Recreation is everybody's business but without leadership what is everybody's business is usually nobody's business. Without such a coordinating, pushing body, the program above is likely to be a paper program only. Education of the public slowly, patiently, progressively is essential since this is Cleveland's community recreation program and it can never succeed except as Cleveland's people as a whole understand it and are for it.

If Cleveland sees fit to carry out in a wholehearted manner the program of recreation based on this study, it will be distinguished by the fact that it is trying to pull all agencies into a comprehensive and coordinate program. Other cities are developing public recreation and some of them have gone much further in this field than Cleveland has yet gone. But if Cleveland attempts to carry out the essentials of the above program, it will be a leader in the development of a well-rounded community recreation program, a program where public agencies attempt only what naturally falls to their lot in the big problem of recreation and private, philanthropic and cooperative agencies attempt to dovetail their work into that of public agencies. We should then have in Cleveland a real city plan for recreation.

CLEVELAND RECREATION SURVEY REPORTS

Copies of these reports will be sent postpaid by the Cleveland Foundation, 1215 Swetland Building, Cleveland, for 50 cents per volume.

STUDIES OF RECREATION INFLUENCES
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WHOLESOME CITIZENS AND SPARE TIME

STUDIES OF AGENCIES
THE SPHERE OF PRIVATE AGENCIES
COMMERCIAL RECREATION
PUBLIC PROVISION FOR RECREATION

SUMMARY
A COMMUNITY RECREATION PROGRAM

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